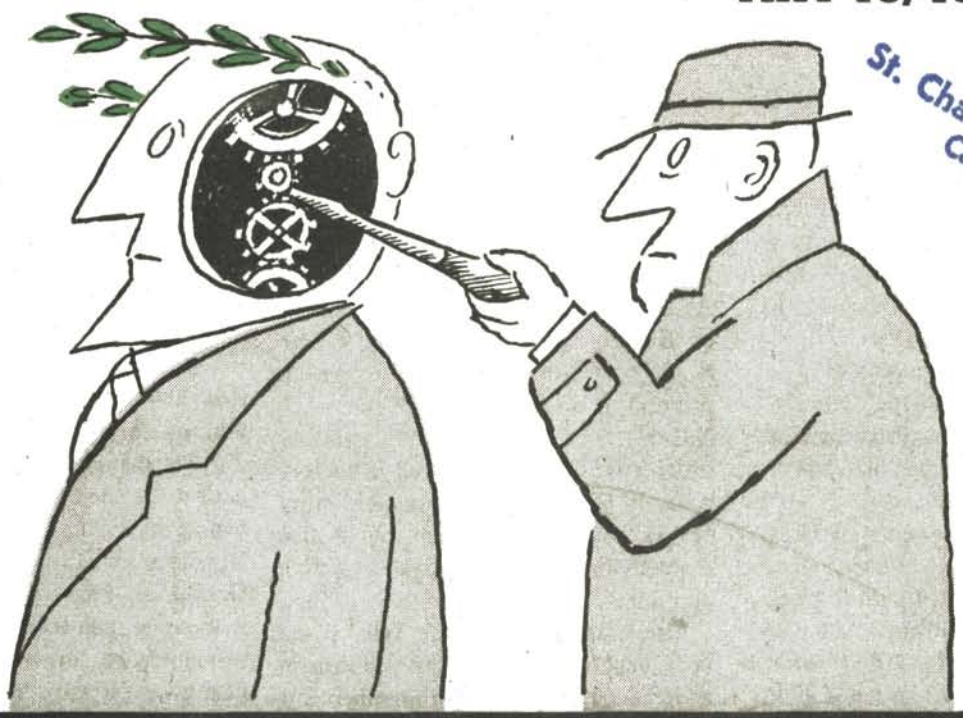
commonweal

The Editors
THE CHURCH CHILL
Mark Gibney
WHY SANCTUARY

$1.25

MAY 18, 1984



St. Charles Seminary Library
Carthagena, Ohio

SPRING BOOKS: *MILAN KUNDERA* *ALFRED DÖBLIN*
HARVEY COX *PENNY LERNOUX* *ROBERT AXELROD*
P.T. BAUER *MOLLY KEANE* *MARK NAISON*
JOSÉ DONOSO *RELIGIOUS BOOKNOTES*
REVIEWED BY: *THOMAS DEPIETRO* *DAVID H.*
RICHTER *LAWRENCE CUNNINGHAM* *JOSEPH A.*
PAGE *KENNETH E. BOULDING* *ERNEST BARTELL*
GREGORY A SCHIRMER *DICK HOWARD*
CLARA CLAI *GERHART*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

Seniority system

Dallas, Tex.

To the Editors: What a delight Katharine Byrne's article "An Afternoon with an Elderly Respondent" was [Feb. 24]. The story was a joyful and fitting tribute to the creativity at work in the minds of so many of our "senior citizens." Thank you!

BETSY CAREY

Fort Benning homily

To the Editors: Here at the federal prison in Sandstone, Minnesota, the fourth anniversary of the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero of El Salvador has special significance.

Last summer 525 soldiers from El Salvador arrived at Fort Benning, Georgia to be armed and trained in military warfare. This meant more violence and suffering for the poor of that country.

Father Larry Rosebaugh, an Oblate priest; Linda Ventimiglia, a physician's assistant; and I, a Maryknoll priest, put on army officer uniforms and entered Fort Benning one night. Armed with a high-powered tape recorder and the legendary last homily of Archbishop Oscar Romero, we climbed a tall pine tree near the barracks of the Salvadoran soldiers. In the silence of the night, the martyred archbishop's voice rang out, "I want to make a special appeal to the men of the army. You are killing your own brothers and sisters. Before an order to kill that a man may give, the law of God must prevail: Thou shalt not kill! In the name of God, in the name of the suffering people of El Salvador, I ask you, I beg you, I order you: Stop the repression!"

We were arrested and at our trial we tried to show that as Christians our faith called us to obey a higher law — the law of God which says, "Thou shalt not kill." My two companions were sentenced to fifteen months and I got eighteen months.

In the solitude of prison I think about the letter sent to our president by Archbishop Romero shortly before he was gunned down while saying Mass. He said, "Instead of leading to justice and peace in El Salvador, military aid from the United States only sharpens the injustice and repression of the people."

During this holy season, our loving God asks each of us to hear the cry of the poor and those who have died for the poor. Is there any better way to express our love for the poor of El Salvador than to stop U.S. military aid to that country?

REV. ROY BOURGEOIS, M.M.
#10890-083
U.S. Federal Prison
Sandstone, Mn. 55072

Dangerous logic

Bronx, N.Y.

To the Editors: There is a line in Barbara Andolsen's generous yet critical review of Beverly Wildung Harrison's *Our Right to Choose* [March 23] which prompts a dark thought. Writes Andolsen: "For Harrison . . . genuine procreative choice requires a society ready to accept corporate responsibility for the welfare of children; but it also requires the availability of safe, elective abortion."

This is the dark thought: What if the very argument for elective abortion undercuts any compelling argument for "corporate" responsibility for children? Will more people simply say, "You had it, you pay for it; don't tax me for welfare, Medicaid, etc."?

Abstract arguments rule in academia; images (if anything) count in the rest of the world. The image of crushing or scraping miniature human life does not easily connect with appeals to give up our money and our power to help those weaker than ourselves. The argument for elective abortion (as opposed to "tragic case" arguments) seems to take that most dangerous of moral logics — capitalism — into areas good men and women have instinctively sought to shield from it: the family and personal life.

The belief in the sacredness of every form of human life gave powerful intellectual and emotional force to the ideal of a common good superior to all merely individual aspirations. Arguments for elective abortion — and its legalization — represent an ambiguous human development. As it frees individuals from the constraints of biology and traditional moral codes, it severs the strangers we call citizens from those ties which bind simply on the ground that all human life is sacred.

JAMES R. KELLY

All that jazz

New York

To the Editors: I have just seen the excellent column by Mark Pruett called "All That Jazz" [March 9].

It is a concise survey of some of the best recordings put out on LP in the last thirty years, and it's good to know that so many of these albums are still in print. Even ten years ago they would have come out and been withdrawn within a period of months.

I have one small dissent on his conclusion, and that is that there is no point in looking for this material on compact disc. If the original recordings, going back to the late twenties and thirties were honest recordings with the single-mike technique as was the case in the Benny Goodman, Fats Waller, early Louis Armstrong, and Billie Holiday sessions, you might be surprised at how much a careful transfer to compact disc would improve the recorded sound. This would not be the case with "From Spirituals to Swing" which was transferred from my noisy acetates to long-playing more than twenty years after the concerts them-

(Continued on page 319)

Commonweal is indexed in Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, Catholic Periodical Index, Index of American Periodical Verse, Book Review Digest and Book Review Index. Microfilm from Vol. 1, 1924, to current issues available through University Microfilm, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mi. 48106 and on Microfiche from Bell & Howell, Micro-Photo Division, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster Ohio 44691. Serials Data program No.: ISSN 0010-3330. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Copyright © 1984 Commonweal Foundation.

Illustrations: Cover, pp. 298, 299, Paul Valerry, Frankfurt; p. 294, Len Boro, *Phoenix Gazette*; p. 297, Harper & Row; p. 307, Emil Antonucci.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contents

Volume CXI, Number 10

Correspondence 290

Editorials 291

Bye bipartisanship: *Jeremiah Baruch* 293

Seeking sanctuary: *Mark Gibney* 295

Weighting for Kundera: *Thomas DePietro* 297

Screen: *Tom O'Brien* 301

Dance: *Don McDonagh* 302

Books

November 1918: *David H. Richter* 304

Reality and Rhetoric: *Ernest Bartell* 305

Religious booknotes — 1: *Mary Gerhart* 306

Religion in the Secular City: *Lawrence S. Cunningham* 308

A House in the Country: *Clara Claiborne Park* 309

Evolution of Cooperation: *Kenneth E. Boulding* 310

Religious booknotes—2: *Mary Gerhart* 312

Time After Time: *Gregory A. Schirmer* 314

In Banks We Trust: *Joseph A. Page* 316

Communists in Harlem During the Depression: *Dick Howard* 318

Staff

Editor: Peter Steinfels
Assistant Editor: David Toolan
Editorial Assistant: Anne Robertson
Poetry: Rosemary Deen, Marie Ponsot
Staff: Karen F. Silva, Harriette Balsky, Sheila Tanksley
Advertising Manager: Ruth E. Taylor
Publisher: Edward S. Skillin

Commonweal, [ISSN 0010-3330] A Review of Public Affairs, Religion, Literature, and the Arts, is published biweekly, except monthly Christmas-New Year's and July and August, by Commonweal Foundation, 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. Telephone: (212) MU 3-2042. Single copy, $1.25. Yearly subscriptions, U.S., $24; Canada, $26; foreign, $29. Special two-year rate: U.S., $43; Canada, $47; foreign, $53. All Canadian and foreign subscriptions must be paid in U.S. dollars by International Money Order or by check on a U.S. bank. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Commonweal, 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016.

commonweal

POLARIZATION IN THE CHURCH?

WITH A FEW exceptional instances, most notably the social encyclicals of John XXIII and Paul VI, the renewal of the Catholic church in the last quarter century, has appeared to proceed despite Rome, not on account of it. The fine-grained reality is more complex of course, but by and large it is not inaccurate to say that the Vatican bureaucracy, even the popes themselves, have acted through this period more as brakes than engines, more as wary helmsmen simply reacting to the buffeting storms than as navigators boldly charting a new course.

To some extent, the situation chanaged with the election of John Paul II, undeniably a man of personal vigor and vision. But in matters of internal church discipline, that vigor and vision seemed either to yield to the practices of Vatican bureaucrats or, in fact, to run strongly against the more decentralized, pluralistic kind of church which had ignited the vitality that, in other respects, the new pope eloquently communicated to the world. There is much more to be said about the complexities of the current pontiff's outlook and style of leadership, and their appropriateness to the circumstances at hand, which, in turn, vary from continent to continent and from issue to issue. Suffice it now to say that there is good reason for those who stand in the tradition which welcomed Vatican II to be thin-skinned about the exercise of Vatican authority. They have not experienced much generous leadership from those quarters, but all too often a begrudging and suspicious scrutiny. No wonder that every Roman decree and demand is apt to be scrutinized suspiciously in turn, and fears repeatedly expressed that, this time, the windows John XXIII wanted thrown open were being closed down and fixed tight.

Of course, it hasn't happened — so far. Can we conclude, then, that expressions of pain and protest at Roman high-handedness have been misplaced? Hardly. For without the vigilance of a loyal opposition it is doubtful that the post-conciliar church would have remained open. Yet, even admitting that internal tension has never been absent from the People of God, and perhaps never should be, the situation is not healthy. At the moment, furthermore, the tension grows acute.

The bare, oversimplified facts indicate that the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, headed by Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, is on a determined offensive. First target: Latin American liberation theology, singling out in particular Peru's Gustavo Gutiérrez and El Salvador's Jon Sobrino; they are accused of undermining hierarchical authority and fomenting class war. The second target: two Paulist Press books, one an immensely popular catechism for adults and the other a book on sexual ethics. Both actions indicate the Vatican's concern with sophisticated theology where it filters down to the people — with adult religious education North and South.

Attending a recent bishops' meeting in Bogota, Colombia, Cardinal Ratzinger seems to have backed off a bit, giving sign that the Vatican is sensitive to the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Going on 60

From Commonweal thirty years ago: "We denounce the idols of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain and are blind to those idols whose cult we ourselves follow. And yet what strange powers of deification possess the man of our time even when he is a Christian. Indeed have we not deified all that we are? Money, first of all, for certain. Science and techniques, social order, party, working class, a philosophy, a theological system. . . .We have placed them above all questioning, all criticism, all judgment.

"The idolatrous cult is difficult for us to discern, for we are scarcely ever conscious of it. . . . 'Beware little children, of false gods.' That is the last verse in the first Epistle of Saint John, and for many years it appeared to be the verse with the least meaning for us today, since the warning was addressed to the first Christians who were contending with full-blown paganism. . . . We know today that this is addressed to us. We are the ones to whom this ancient precept is directed."

—François Mauriac, "To Believe in God"
May 14, 1954

volatile, ideologically charged context of the dispute, and that it does not intend to repudiate Medellin or Puebla's "option for the poor," or indeed the pope's own appeals for social justice. The neuralgic point, obviously, is what critics see as a hermeneutic of the Bible overly influenced by Marxism — a topic that can use all the critical discussion it can get, but which profits little from charges and countercharges of heresy. Will Rome cripple the vital liberationist movement? We doubt it. With a little luck, the controversy stands a decent chance of becoming a process in the tradition of those momentous patristic and medieval battles of ideas. The ideas here are worth clarifying and suffering for, and of immense practical consequence if the church is to pose realistic alternatives between the right-wing "national security state" and the equally bankrupt "scientific" Marxist-Leninism so popular on the Latin American left. Vatican questioning, then — if it is question and not closure — may be, ought to be, a force for eventual illumination.

As for the U.S. case, the suppression of the Paulist books, no doubt liberal theological texts can use criticism as much as liberation theology can. But the manner of the action here — no prior consultation with authors or publisher, no due process for sullied reputations, no effort to explain objections, the bishops who originally gave imprimaturs demeaned as messenger boys — is breathtaking for its lack of regard. All the more so in that two years ago, a joint commission of theologians and canon lawyers, working in conjunction with American bishops, approved a consensus statement of principles to govern doctrinal disputes — nearly all of which, in this instance, stand violated. Who needs local bishops, canon lawyers, and theologians familiar with local conditions, if Rome, or more likely in this case, Cardinal Silvio Oddi, staunch Opus Dei advocate, and his new American advisor in the Congregation of the Clergy (which supervises catechetics), Monsignor George Kelly, can handle everything from the top? The answer, for the moment, is clear; there goes collegiality, shrunk like Alice to pin-size. It's enough to ground the suspicion that Rome gets its information about the U.S. church from the pages of *The Wanderer*, hand-delivered weekly at every Vatican office. With all the pride of a Red Brigade, however, along came Catholics United for the Faith (CUF) to take credit for the carnage. They are welcome to it.

Suppose then that this latest episode, combined with the moderately conservative cast of recent papal appointments, combined with the publicized papal admonitions to American bishops, combined with the several organized inquiries into seminaries, religious orders, and two U.S. dioceses, all amount to a rising tide of conservatism. Yet conservatism in the church is by no means all of one piece. In the U.S. there is indeed a militant faction of ultra-conservatives whose standard of ecclesiastical fidelity really remains the uniformity and rigidity, at one and the same time defensive and triumphalist, of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Catholicism. They give obeissance to Vatican II, no doubt sincerely; but they imagine it as somehow providing an updated "content" to be inserted into an essentially Tridentine structure. Rather condescendingly, they see the last decades as a prolonged period of free play, when all the children were allowed to try things out at random and predictably made a mess. The time is long overdue for Authority to blow the whistle and put everyone back into line.

There is another group of conservatives, however, whose agenda is essentially political. They want to root out the politically liberal sympathies they see as having established a foothold in the American church. Their main object is to discredit the U.S. Catholic Conference staff at the national level and social activists locally — and to divide them from the bishops. Their operation occasionally seems to be headquartered in the White House itself.

Finally there is a broad group of Catholics whose conservative impulses, though they may be edged with a nostalgia for the settled existence of the pre-conciliar church, are primarily expressions of concern that in breaking down old barriers the very lifeblood of the faith, and of the church's ability to pass it on from generation to generation, may be lost. In this they are joined by many who would not consider themselves conservatives at all. For some years now, it has been widely recognized that the intensely critical phase of the immediate post-conciliar period had to be succeeded by a constructive effort, much more difficult and delicate, at understanding and teaching and giving flesh to a Catholic Christian identity. Accordingly, in liturgy, theology, and personal spirituality, there has been a growing tendency to reappraise the first post-conciliar developments and even to reappropriate much that, in the late sixties and early seventies, had been questioned or neglected. Let there be no mistake: serious differences exist among Catholics, for example over the boldness with which the church should reexamine traditional positions on sexual morality, the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

status of women in the church, or the role of the church in the face of social oppression. Nonetheless, the chances of facing such differences, thoughtfully, prayerfully, and in ultimate unity, have seemed to grow in recent years.

It is in that context that the current displays of Roman authority are so troubling. For the ultra-conservatives mentioned above, the polarization that may result can only be cleansing; they sniff heresy, they want it exposed, and they want it *out*. How willing other conservatives will be to encourage such an attitude remains to be seen. It could serve some of their short-run purposes. But it would also be dangerously counter-productive. Authoritarian responses to disputed questions finally discredit authority. Party lines harden. Fears of arbitrary Vatican actions inhibit candid criticism and thoroughgoing discussion of controversial authors or lines of thought that are under fire from Rome. Perhaps the bitterest and least constructive turmoil in the American church occurred in the years after *Humanae Vitae*, when alienation from Rome was greatest. Will the church really gain by returning to that strife?

And what of those who feel themselves, directly or indirectly, the objects of a new regimentation? What should be our attitude? Have we been remiss in trying to get on with other things rather than rebutting the endless stream of accusations that comes from the angry right? Perhaps that battle will have to be joined. But the costs could be high. Polemic breeds sourness and self-righteousness. Of which there is already too much in the church, like a bad hangover from a decade ago.

Catholicism has always been tragically, but also gloriously, messy — not least of all in its contests of ideas that matter. If this episode is to balance out on the glorious side of the scale, it will be necessary for those under pressure to resist, yes, but to nourish that resistance out of an increasingly deep and serene attachment to the mystery of the church.

ETC.

● "Videos" may be reviving weary record and film industries, contributing their part to the current economic recovery, but Frank McConnell's question in a recent issue's "Media" column ("Infant Art," April 6) is certainly pertinent: When does "art" become a waste? According to *Time*, sixty-three percent of the video audience is under twenty-five, but other surveys suggest the majority is under twelve. What, besides an apparently irresistible sales pitch, are the children being fed? Well, for one thing, the darker side of Erik Erikson's adolescent identity confusion, which rock has always been in the business of glamorizing. And there's much in the videos to overdramatize the *Sturm und Drang* of the teenage crisis for younger brothers and sisters, with what effect we can only guess — glittery limelight performers and adoring fans, raw erotic energy, images of powerlessness and rebellion, gang warfare, and parodies of the adult world. True, there's nothing here that Shakespeare didn't portray in *Romeo and Juliet*. But there are also the "sick" videos: a lot of neo-Nazi strutting and dress, rampant paranoia, an image of the adult, public world as a conspiracy to defraud and maim, and fantasies of women as either castrating *femmes fatales* or degraded sex objects. Once you've seen some of this (and it's not all of it), the figures on teenage violence and suicide should come as no surprise; videos vibrate with thwarted expectation and premature cynicism. Is this the underground fantasy life of another generation growing up absurd, or merely the attention-grabbing projection of jaded promoters in Hollywood and New York suites? We don't know, but either way it's another form of environmental pollution.

Washington report

BYE BIPARTISANSHIP

MR. REAGAN'S 'HONORABLE TRADITION'

Then none was for a party;
Then all were for the state.

MACAULAY'S LINES could serve as a motto for President Ronald Reagan's call for "bipartisanship at home" as a key principle guiding U.S. foreign policy. Unfortunately for bipartisanship, Mr. Reagan, practically within the same breath, noted that through renewed attention to this and seven other "vital principles" (realism, strength, economic growth, intelligence, shared responsibility with allies, nonaggression, and dialogue with adversaries) America has been steadily rebuilding its capacity to advance foreign policy goals, "and we will not return to the days of hand-wringing, defeatism, decline, and despair."

Notwithstanding this less than flattering characterization of his predecessor's policies, the president's call, before Georgetown University's Center for International and Strategic Studies on April 6, for a bipartisan foreign policy consensus has generated considerable debate not only over the role of partisanship in foreign policy, but also over the role of Congress — if you eliminate party, who is to speak for the state?

Further on in his remarks at Georgetown's Center, no doubt to ensure that he got his point across, the president repeated his principle of bipartisanship, this time as "our fourth great challenge": "We must restore America's honorable tradition of partisan politics stopping at the water's edge." He lamented the "rash of congressional initiatives to limit the president's authority in the areas of trade, human rights, arms sales, foreign assistance, intelligence operations, and the dispatch of troops in time of crisis." The consequence of this "activism" of the past decade, according to the president, is that "bipartisan consensus-building has become a central responsibility of congressional leadership as well as of executive leadership."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But then, in keeping with the "one-two" boxing cadence of his speech, Mr. Reagan belted Congress over Lebanon, stating that "the subsequent second-guessing about whether we ought to keep our men there severely undermined our policy. It hindered the ability of our diplomats to negotiate, encouraged more intransigence from the Syrians, and prolonged the violence." He further claimed that "congressional wavering" on support for the recommendations of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America "can only encourage the enemies of democracy." This is how our president has begun his call for bipartisanship.

Mr. Reagan did not point out that a crucial component of the Central American Commission's highly touted bipartisan consensus was the strongly conditional language affecting aid to El Salvador. "But they walked away from it," according to commission member and former Democratic National Committee chairman Robert Strauss in an interview by the *National Journal*. As a result, Mr. Strauss states that he has refused to speak out for the administration's legislative package, the Central American Democracy, Peace, and Development Initiative Act of 1984.

Another key element in the commission's recommendations, a proposed Central American Development Organization, has been substantially weakened from its original proposed form. As introduced by the administration, the development organization is to be headed by the administrator of the Agency of International Development (AID) — exactly what the Commission did not want, which was a multilateral alternative to traditional government-to-government assistance, as exemplified by AID. Moreover, the recommendations have lost their consensus packaging by being incorporated into the House and Senate's annual foreign aid legislative rituals — efforts in which members of Mr. Reagan's own party have often been the spoilers.

It was slightly less than a decade ago that, ironically, the Commission's chairman, Henry Kissinger, then Secretary of State, invited Congress to a "new national partnership" in foreign policy. In this January 24, 1975, speech in Los Angeles, Kissinger also kept up the executive/legislative sparring by complaining about congressional interference with trade amendments while promising that the administration would "make every effort to meet congressional concerns." President Gerald Ford followed the next month, softening up Congress with a plea for a restoration of the bipartisan foreign policy of the forties; then Kissinger hit hard in March. He was quoted in London as warning the British about the American government's capacity to conduct foreign policy "in the face of unprecedentedly far-reaching congressional interference and obstruction," particularly citing congressional refusal to send more aid to Cambodia.

Mr. Reagan's call to restore the "honorable tradition" of partisan politics stopping at the water's edge echoes Mr. Ford's earlier nostalgia for the post-World War II bipartisan consensus embodied in Republican Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg's oft-cited words, "I raise the fervent prayer that we may ever strive for an unpartisan American foreign policy — not Republican, not Democratic, but American — which substantially unites our people at the water's edge in behalf of peace . . ." Yet not only did this consensus fall apart during the Korean War (and recognizing that, on the contrary, the honorable tradition in the history of U.S. foreign policy has been pendulum swings between congressional and executive dominance in foreign affairs), but Senator Vandenberg's views contrast significantly with the interpretation posed by Mr. Reagan.

In his April 4 televised news conference, the president's second since formally announcing his candidacy for reelection, Mr. Reagan cleared his way for a call to bipartisan consensus by attacking congressional debate over his commitment of troops to Lebanon: "You have rendered them ineffective when you conduct that kind of debate in public." In a subsequent briefing to explain Mr. Reagan's call for a bipartisan consensus, national security adviser Robert McFarlane was described by the *New York Times* as saying that "this meant once a foreign policy is set, Congress should not publicly attack it, but express members' concern privately."

Senator Vandenberg, on the other hand, emphasized that foreign policy "be *totally* debated." United Press reporter John Steele, who later helped edit Vandenberg's diary, stated that the price of the senator's bipartisanship "was very high indeed. It was essentially a trade-off of some important executive branch prerogatives in foreign and defense policies in return for Republican support in the legislative branch. . . . Vandenberg always drove a hard bargain."

There are those who maintain that the high price of bipartisanship was a cost borne by the Republican party; Republican opposition to the Truman administration's foreign policy was confined "largely to the plane of generalities," according to John Campbell in his study of the period. The danger of bipartisanship devitalizing the opposition was not one faced by Mr. Reagan. As observed by Speaker O'Neill, among others, Ronald Reagan made his reputation "and advanced his political career" not as "a bipartisan supporter of our foreign policy but as perennial critic" on a whole range of issues from the Panama Canal to the strategic arms limitation treaty. Mr. McFarlane, when reminded of Mr. Reagan's partisan past,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was quoted as saying, "I think there's been a certain evolution in his thinking."

Arthur Krock noted the damage bipartisanship inflicted upon the Republican party during the Truman administration, precluding Republicans from freely attacking budgetary and tax policies: "This situation robs an opposition party of a definite program to deal with an alarming condition, and of an effective claim for being returned to office" (*New York Times*, Nov. 11, 1949). In this observation, Mr. Krock also points to a further problem of bipartisanship, namely, that foreign policy issues necessarily entail domestic policy concerns as well.

Cecil V. Crabb, Jr., in his classic study, *Bipartisan Foreign Policy: Myth or Reality?* (1957), states that in evaluating the extent to which bipartisanship is possible in foreign policy, "it must be remembered that the case for two-party cooperation rests in large measure upon a myth. . . . The myth alluded to here is that the problems confronting the nation may be clearly divided into foreign and domestic questions, and that while the former must be approached on a bipartisan basis, the latter are properly left to the interplay of partisan influences."

Crabb notes that "myths are not always false; and in many cases they must be preserved irrespective of whether they are true or false." Within a world of interdependent communication, financing, and trade, the myth of the separation of foreign and domestic issues cannot be easily preserved. Mr. Reagan has not yet made a convincing case that it should.

JEREMIAH BARUCH

(Jeremiah Baruch is the pseudonym of a Washington writer with a position in government.)

Salvadoran refugees

SEEKING SANCTUARY

A SPECIAL DUTY FOR THE U.S.?

AN ESTIMATED half million Salvadorans are currently in the United States illegally. A sizable portion have been aided or housed by a growing number of church groups in this country who are participating in a program known as "Sanctuary." Otherwise law-abiding citizens are risking upwards of five years in jail and maximum fines of $2000 in order to provide humanitarian assistance to these Salvadorans.

The second unique aspect present in this social phenomenon is that it represents one of the few instances in U.S. history where individual citizens have carried out their own alien admission system for reasons other than economic gain. As the Supreme Court reasoned in one of the earliest immigration cases, "The power of exclusion of foreigners being an incident of sovereignty belonging to the government of the United States, as a part of those sovereign powers delegated by the Constitution, the right to its exercise at any time when, in the judgment of the government, the interests of the country require it, cannot be granted away or restrained on behalf of anyone. The powers of the government are delegated in trust to the United States, and are incapable of transfer to any other parties. They cannot be abandoned or surrendered." (Chinese Exclusion Case 130 U.S. 581, 609 (1888)). "Sanctuary" seems to be the first crack in this assumption.

What has forced so many Salvadorans, and also so many law-abiding U.S. citizens, to follow the illegal route has been the fact that the legal channels have all been closed. There are essentially two legal avenues that Salvadorans could follow in their efforts to stay in the U.S. lawfully — asylum and extended voluntary departure. Neither has offered a glimmer of hope.

With the passage of the Refugee Act of 1980 Congress made an ostensible effort to get away from the ideologically dominated refugee policies of the past. For example, the seventh preference for refugees in the 1965 Immigration Act limited its humanitarian scope to those fleeing Communist nations or countries in the Middle East. Contrary to this, the stated purpose of the Refugee Act was to look at "the plight of the refugee" herself. In accordance with this new approach, these geographical restrictions were eliminated.

The changes in legislative language, however, have not brought about any changes in policy practice. The list of refugee admissions and grants of asylum are still dominated by those from Communist countries. Individuals fleeing from non-Communist countries have not fared nearly as well. Nowhere is this clearer than in the case of Salvadorans. Last year the State Department granted asylum status to only 200 Salvadorans. Many Salvadorans do not seek asylum, with good reason. INS data show that in 1983 only 6 percent of the Salvadorans who applied for asylum were granted it. Compare this with the 67 percent acceptance rate for Afghanis. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has recognized Salvadorans as a group as refugees, and so have our neighbors to the north and south, Canada and Mexico. The U.S. has not.

Salvadorans have not fared any better under what is known

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as "extended voluntary departure." This program is really extended non-departure. Traditionally, under this program foreign citizens are allowed to remain in the U.S. until civil disturbances in one's home country have subsided. In the past two decades extended voluntary departure has been implemented fifteen times for groups such as Nicaraguans in 1979. At the present time extended voluntary departure has been denied to Salvadorans as a group, the rationale being that conditions in El Salvador are not unsafe. The House version of the proposed Simpson-Mazzoli bill has a provision in it for granting extended voluntary departure to Salvadorans. However, at present this does little good for the hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans whose status and safety remain uncertain.

ELLIOT ABRAMS, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, defends the denial of relief to Salvadorans this way: "There are dozens of wars, civil wars and insurgencies in the world today, and almost all are in the third world. . . . Those who ask that all Salvadoran migrants be allowed to stay in the United States indefinitely must explain why the same treatment is not deserved by all other migrants from poor violent societies to our south — now and in coming years " *(N.Y. Times,* August 5, 1983).

The whole tenor of Abrams's argument totally overlooks the very close (and growing) military and economic connection between the U.S. and El Salvador. If one did not know better one would think, from Abrams's remarks, that as far as the U.S. is concerned El Salvador is just another turbulent banana republic. The message from the Reagan administration is clear — if we allow any substantial number of Salvadorans into this country we will have to take them all in. The specter of hordes of migrants coming into this country has long been an effective tool in keeping many ethnic groups out; Abrams merely uses this age-old argument in a more subtle way.

The federal government has found that the simplest way of having to make a close scrutiny of the claims of Salvadorans is to label them as "economic migrants." What this means is that all Salvadorans are presumed to come to this country merely for economic advancement. Illegal Mexicans are also considered economic migrants and so are Haitian boat people. No effort is made to distinguish the economic situations of these people. Seventy-seven percent of the Haitian population exists on less than $150 *per year*, but this label of economic migrant allows the U.S. to portray these people as wanting to take the bread off our tables. Moreover, we not only do not distinguish between economic backgrounds, but the administrative term "economic migrant" allows the U.S. to ignore the domestic setting and internal differences between each of these, and other, countries. Surely some Salvadorans are here for economic reasons, but to avoid seriously looking at the claims of those who are fleeing for political and safety reasons smacks of the worst form of insensitivity.

One of the ironies of this scorn for economic migrants is the fact that economic considerations seem to play a very large part in our legal channels of alien admissions. Empirical studies have shown that many "normal flow" immigrants come to this country solely for economic advancement. In addition, large numbers of the refugees we admit (such as Vietnamese and Cuban nationals) have stated that they have migrated to the U.S. for economic and not political reasons.

The wrong assumptions are being made and the wrong questions are being asked. The question that should be raised is whether or not the U.S. should owe a special duty of protection to the citizens of nations where the U.S. is either waging a war or materially (in the literal and figurative sense) aiding in the perpetuation of a war. My answer, it should be obvious, is yes, and I base my argument on the idea that innocents (in a war situation or otherwise) have a basic right not to be harmed or killed. If this nation's actions threaten this basic right then it should owe a special duty to rectify this wrong. The Reagan administration has tried to buttress its argument that those coming to the U.S. are surely economic migrants because, they argue, asylum is possible (for how long and for how many is uncertain) in Canada and Mexico. What this argument completely overlooks is that the humanitarian actions of our neighbors should serve as an embarrassment to our policies, not a justification for them. If our weapons and military training kill people in El Salvador, why should we be surprised, or angered, when those lucky to survive come to this country? Canada and Mexico do not owe a special duty to the innocent citizens of El Salvador; we do.

THE LAST QUESTION that I will address is whether the "Sanctuary" program can be morally justified or not. As a general rule we would not want individuals or groups of individuals making their own alien admission policy. Nations simply cannot function this way. What marks the "Sanctuary" program is that individual citizens are having to recognize this special duty to Salvadorans because the U.S. government will not. That is to say that what differentiates "Sanctuary" from a humanitarian program that would admit starving Haitians, for instance, is that (1) admission to this country might be the only way of providing the needed assistance (while providing food directly to Haitians might be sufficient aid), and 2) that because of current U.S. policies in El Salvador a special duty to provide safety exists. A special duty (as opposed to a general duty of care) is much less discernible in the Haitian situation.

To summarize, the U.S. owes a special duty of protection to Salvadorans who are fleeing the civil war in that country. This special duty arises from the fact of heavy U.S. involvement in the implementation of that war. To date, the federal government has avoided taking a serious look at the claims individual Salvadorans can present by (1) generally treating all Salvadorans as economic migrants, and (2) maintaining an asylum/refugee policy that is still mired in the East-West conflict. The church-based "Sanctuary" program simply recognizes that special duty.

MARK GIBNEY

(Mark Gibney, currently doing dissertation work on U.S. alien admission policies, is a member of the bar in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and the District of Columbia.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MEMORY & EXTINCTION

Weighting for Kundera

THOMAS DePIETRO

TOTALITARIANISM, for all the efforts of political theorists to define it, remains as slippery a term as ever, a concept that usually explains either too much or too little. The testimony of literature on this topic, however, the evidence submitted by a wealth of poets and novelists — from Czeslaw Milosz to Garcia Marquez to J.M. Coetzee and Milan Kundera — brings us back to the issues which occasioned the political science inquiry in the first place. What astonishes even the casual reader of recent world literature is this: writers from countries as unlike as Poland, Colombia, South Africa, and Czechoslovakia all perceive at the core of contemporary experience (and not just in countries we call "totalitarian") the paradox embodied in the title of Milan Kundera's new novel, *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*: a weightlessness that threatens to crush the life out of us. And yet, modern political life, whether by its steady assault on our everyday sense of reality or by its more explicitly evil potential for genocide, provides fuel for the writer's moral imagination — at least for those writers who face up to it and are burdened with the label "political." "Censorship," writes Borges, "is the mother of metaphor." "We artists are olives," said Joyce, "squeeze us."

Nineteen eighty-four finds many of us reading (or at least buying) a political novel that succeeds like no other (to use Irving Howe's words) "in rendering the essential quality of totalitarianism." The novel is, of course, *1984*, and because many of its recent critics waste their time measuring the deliberately extreme, imaginary state of Oceania against past and present governments, they tend to ignore Orwell's genuine insight into the language and imagery of oppression. Orwell envisages in *1984* a world where power seems to exist for its own sake, where moral and political nihilism reign supreme, where humanity has indeed become superfluous. "Anything is possible" in Oceania; in fact, it's probable. In this novel of ideas, Orwell discovers terror *in* ideas, especially in the slogans and pronouncements of the Party. A simple example: the Party might announce "that two and two made five," and one "would have to believe it." As Orwell elaborates: "Not merely the validity of experience, but the very existence of external reality was tacitly denied by their philosophy. The heresy of heresies was common sense." The Party, like all monolithic systems of government, undermines the very distinctions that (for us) sustain collective sanity. The breakdown in *1984* is complete: reality is unreal; truth is false.

To my mind, the most horrifying aphorism in *1984* is not the inscription on the Ministry of Truth (WAR IS PEACE/FREEDOM IS SLAVERY/IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH), but the slogan which Winston Smith enacts each day on his job: "Who controls the past controls the future: who controls the present controls the past." Winston must consign to memory holes — the pneumatic shafts leading to an enormous furnace — any evidence of an historical past that doesn't conform to current Party policy. Everyday, he rewrites history, robbing it of any possible meaning. Individuals, groups of people, nations: along with their histories, all become superfluous. We think inevitably of Gabriel Garcia Marquez's incantatory villages, wiped clean out of time. Or of the unadorned moment in history which introduces us to the otherwise magical *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, by Milan Kundera (Harper & Row, $14.95, Penguin $5.95, 267 pp.).

ALL CZECHS knew this primal scene from the countless copies of a photograph reproduced on posters and in schoolbooks and museums. Klement Gottwald stands on a Prague balcony, flanked by Comrade Clementis, and proclaims the birth of Communist Czechoslovakia. Moments before the photograph was snapped, Clementis had given Gottwald his fur cap to protect him from the snow. Four years later, in 1952, Clementis was hanged for treason and immediately airbrushed from the photograph and history. Down the memory hole. But there's the rub: that hat remains on Gottwald's head, an obscure reminder of an officially forgot-

THOMAS De PIETRO *has published reviews and articles in* The Nation, In These Times *and other journals. He is currently working on a novel and a study of American literary radicalism.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ten man. And the forgotten man, what is he? He is Kundera's central trope, his figure of a person or people effaced by deliberate or unwitting amnesia, and hence on the way to disembodiment just as truly as if sent to a gas chamber.

But facts as trifling as Clementis's hat stubbornly resist the kind of total manipulation that so successfully alters reality in Orwell's fiction. And this points to the paradoxical advance of Kundera's lustrous art over the killingly prosaic world of Orwell. Although *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* begins straightforwardly enough in the black humor of Czechoslovakian reality, it soon veers in and out of a variety of stories and genres: fantasy, autobiography, criticism, and history. "The basic event of the book," Kundera tells us elsewhere, "is the story of totalitarianism." But this story, more than Orwell's, acknowledges the contradictions and ambiguities — and therefore the pulse of life — behind the scenes of totalitarian darkness. In fact, the novel embodies these very complexities.

In contrast, Orwell's book reads like an illustrated thesis. Who can forget the lengthy, undigested and, I suspect, often unread chunks of Emmanuel Goldstein's *Theory and Practice of Oligarchical Collectivism* which intrude on what little action there is in *1984*? By comparison Kundera penetrates the modern political consciousness with a refracted style reminiscent of his acknowledged literary masters, Kafka, Broch, Musil, and Havek, the great modernists of Central Europe, all of whom, in one way or another, have meditated on the "possible end of European humanity." (The phrase comes from Kundera's recent essay, "The Tragedy of Central Europe," published in *The New York Review of Books*, April 26, 1984.)

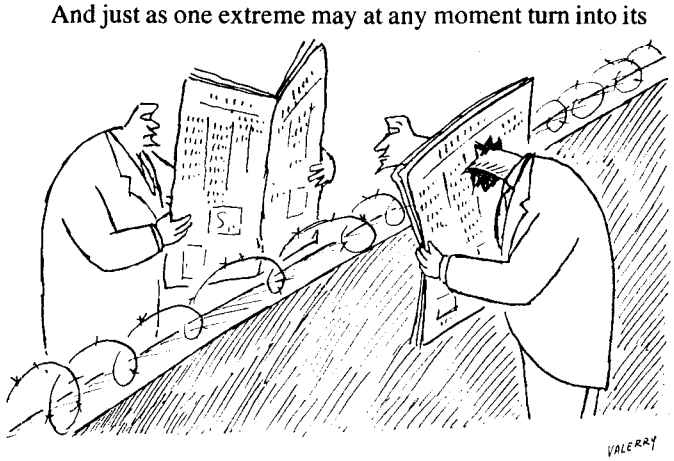
Midway through *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* Kundera pauses to reveal his intended design: "This entire book is a novel in the form of variations. The individual parts follow each other like individual stretches of a journey leading toward a theme, a thought, a single situation, the sense of which shades into the distance." This reflexive moment captures Kundera's theme: the eclipse of memory and the consequent erosion of being, of substance; in sum, unbearable weightlessness. It might well stand for Kundera's entire work translated into English. From his first novel, *The Joke* (Penguin, $5.95, 267 pp.), to his new book, *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* (Harper & Row, $15.95, 314 pp.), Kundera offers us a series of situations which bear witness not only to the disappearance of his beloved homeland, but also to the moral and social amnesia that pervades our time in both the East and the West. He expresses this European tragedy through his generically disparate stories, which are linked, with one exception — *The Farewell Party* (Penguin, $5.95, 209 pp.) — in seven-part structures like so many variations on a musical theme.

But even the carefully orchestrated events of *The Farewell Party*, like the studied philosophical asides in his new book, draw us into a labyrinth of personal, political, and finally ontological questions. What is the human need of richness, beauty? What is weakness, genuine strength, darkness, and light? Is creation acceptable or unacceptable? What does it mean to live in the truth? What is our responsibility to time? It is typical of Kundera's post-Orwellian sensibility that he answers few of these questions. Rather, his art resides in his capacity to put us inside characters for whom these questions are matters of life and death. It is an imagination that penetrates the victimizer as well as the victim and often finds the two symbiotic, as if inflections of a single mind.

In his finest work, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, immediately after he reflects on its structure, Kundera calls our attention to the book's central figure, the Czechoslovakian exile Tamina. Her story, of a woman who tries to remember the simplest things, represents all the previous and subsequent tangle of tales in Kundera's grand fictional project. Not merely the main character in this work, Tamina is the "main audience, and all the other stories are variations on her story and come together in her life as in a mirror." Waiting tables in a drab café somewhere in Western Europe, Tamina desperately clings to memories of her dead husband, with whom she had left Prague illegally in 1968, after the Soviet invasion. As her life with him recedes in time, she realizes that in order to hold on to her own soul ("the sum total of her being") she needs to retrieve the notebooks and letters left behind during her hasty departure from Czechoslovakia. For a while, her atomized social life in the West takes on new purpose as a result: she must find a courier to fetch her personal archive. But when all prospects fall through, a disgusted Tamina retreats into silence, the only adequate rejoinder to the cacophonous interrogations of contemporary life.

Later in the book, Tamina reappears, seduced by the promise of a world in which she can "forget her forgetting" — the malady not simply of the Communist world but of the Americanized West as well. She begins her journey there "as in a fairy tale, as in a dream (no, it *is* a fairy tale, it is a dream!)." And when she arrives, this paradise where reality is unreal turns out to be an island of children who repeatedly insult, beat, and rape her. But it is the children's booming guitar music, the kind of elementary music Kundera elsewhere finds inherently idiotic and symptomatic of profound cultural decay, that finally prompts Tamina's attempted escape. Before she swims to her death, Kundera explains,

> It is the little things of no weight at all that are making Tamina nauseous. In fact, that hollow feeling in her stomach comes from the unbearable absence of weight. And just as one extreme may at any moment turn into its



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opposite, so this perfect buoyancy has become a terrifying *burden of buoyancy* . . .

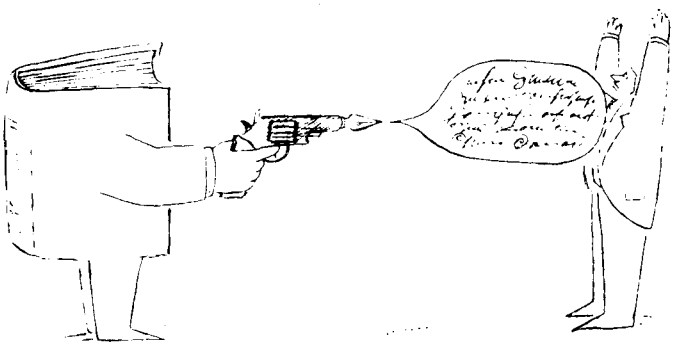
Given the echo of this scene in its title, Kundera's latest novel, *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*, can be considered an extended gloss on Tamina's death. And to see it as such doesn't diminish its achievement for, as I have suggested earlier, Kundera frequently invites us to discover the unity in his overarching literary design.

IT GOES without saying, however, that *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* is more than a lengthy epilogue to a masterpiece; it's outstanding in its own right — a series of, yes, variations, many of which can only enhance our appreciation of Kundera's increasingly demanding art. Writing from exile, as he has for the last nine years, Kundera's skeptical eye here turns further inward. But it is not the inwardness we associate with those postmodern writers who retreat from the world around them only to celebrate their vitiated sensibilities. Kindera refuses to acquiesce, to settle into a complacency where answers come easy; no cold-war scold he. He subjects the "free world's" contradictions to equally fierce scrutiny; the issues he confronts — the bearing of time, choice, and being — transcend time and place.

Consider the title of this new book, *Unbearable Lightness*: a paradox buried in an enigma. We usually welcome lightness, like laughter, like forgetting. Not here though, for Kundera clearly wants us to believe, despite the sometimes overwhelming evidence to the contrary, in the Nietzschean premise that opens the book: that if events are to have any meaning, they must happen more than once, and that this eternal return is, in Nietzsche's words, "the heaviest of burdens." Kundera in fact welcomes heavy burdens, for against them our lives stand out "in all their splendid lightness."

> The heaviest of burdens crushes us, we sink beneath it, it pins us to the ground. But in the love poetry of every age, the woman longs to be weighed down by the man's body. The heaviest of burdens is therefore simultaneously an image of life's most intense fulfillment. The heavier the burden, the closer our lives come to the earth, the more real and truthful they become.
>
> Conversely, the absolute absence of a burden causes man to be lighter than air, to soar into the heights, take leave of the earth and his earthly being, and become only half real, his movements as free as they are insignificant.
>
> What then shall we choose? Weight or lightness?

At the same time, however, many events in Kundera's novels suggest that life is subject to constant change, not eternal recurrence, and that meaning (and judgment) depends entirely on context. In *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*, for example, one of the main characters, Tomas, a kind of dissident in spite of himself, is asked to sign a petition protesting the treatment of political prisoners. On the one hand he feels the weight of moral reason: one should always raise a voice for the silenced. On the other hand the petition might play into the government's hands as a justification for more persecution. Tomas refuses to sign, allowing uncertainty to translate into



inaction. "For how can we condemn something that is ephemeral, in transit?" Kundera asks in his prologue. "In the sunset of dissolution, everything is illuminated by the aura of nostalgia, even the guillotine." We are meant to be sympathetic. If a "human life occurs only once," we are here told, how can one measure the outcome of a discrete action? "Is there any answer to such a question?" the novel asks. The only answers are possibilities, the novelist replies, and he relies on character and event, with all their inherent contradictions, as much as on philosophical speculation, to tell us what those possibilities, in each case, are. As a character then, Tomas — like Tereza his lover, like the lovers Sabina and Franz — is "born of a situation, a sentence, a metaphor containing in a nutshell a basic human possibility that the author thinks no one else has discovered or said something essential about."

KUNDERA FIRST sees Tomas in an image, in a sentence, in a situation; he sees him "standing at a window of his flat and looking across the courtyard at the opposite walls, not knowing what to do." Tomas does not know it at the moment, but he is poised for the choice of weight or lightness. His immediate crisis seems simple: should he summon to Prague the childlike waitress Tereza whom he met by chance in a provincial café? He, the womanizer, who has designed his life so "that no woman could move in with a suitcase"? A chaste hour in the country, a ten-day visit to Prague (during which she had the flu): for the eminent surgeon, Tomas, these events add up to "an inexplicable love" that goes against his principles. Or is it hysteria? Why the crisis anyway? Part of Tomas's perplexity, Kundera lets us infer, is because the soul of man under socialism, the soul of this man in Communist Czechoslovakia, cannot guide his emotions, tied up as they are by the invading hand of politics. Like so many of Kundera's Don Juans, Tomas finds in his private, erotic life the freedom and power he so lacks in the public sphere. But there's no escape for Tomas. Tereza's quiet sufferings pose a challenge greater than politics; to assuage her pain, he marries her. But he cannot make her happy. His failure links itself in time and meaning to his country's failed promise: both reveal themselves in August 1968 as the Russian tanks invade Prague.

Listening to a demoralized, defeated Dubcek stuttering, gasping for breath on the radio, Tereza, like Tamina before her, resigns herself to the company of the weak. Her brief exile with Tomas in Switzerland provides no salvation; she returns to the scene of her primal victimization and all her subsequent ones. But weakness and strength, victim and victimizer,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hunter and hunted: the roles change without warning. (In all oppressive countries? Think of the fluid master/slave relation explored so profoundly in Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*.) Tomas, who continues to conquer through sex, discovers its illusory power when it is momentarily turned against him. Back in Prague, no longer allowed to practice medicine, he meets his sexual match while on his job washing windows. When he gives her "his standard 'Strip!' command," she fails to comply but counter-commands, "No, you first." Their love-making soon proclaims war. When he finally catches her off-guard, her legs parted expectantly in mid-air, he notices: "they suddenly looked like the raised arms of a soldier surrendering to a gun pointed at him." Though Tomas wins the battle, he loses the war, for he's still victim to a greater force: Tereza's jealousy. She occupies his poetic memory — the sphere not simply of sex but of love — "like a despot" and exterminates all thoughts of other women. As Kundera reminds us earlier in the book, "loves are like empires." Nonetheless fragile empires: "when the idea they are founded on crumbles, they, too, fade away." They dissolve into air, with the lightness Tomas finds in his soulless infidelities.

THE "WEAK" Tereza, on the other hand, brings ballast to her shared tale with Tomas. Her "anachronistic" love, so reminiscent of Tamina's love for her dead husband, carries weight. There is little of this kind of weight in Sabina's life. One of Tomas's former mistresses, she floats higher and higher — compelled by the sentence of her identifying image, one of repeated betrayal. As a disillusioned artist in exile, she views the West with the cool eye of the cynic. She refuses to submit to her new lover Franz's romantic misunderstanding of her exile, and to the aesthetic implied in his banalizing of her life. For that aesthetic — the simplifying power of kitsch — threatens to flatten the world, not just Eastern Europe where social realism means portraits of smiling statesmen and happy workers at May Day parades, but the West as well. Sabina, traveling further West, betraying the prosaic Franz, finds herself in America with a senator, who comments on his four children running through the grass, "Now, that's what I call happiness." American kitsch.

> At that moment an image of the senator standing on a reviewing stand in a Prague square flashed through Sabina's mind. The smile on his face was the smile Communist statesmen beamed from the height of their reviewing stand to the identically smiling citizens in the parade below.

No, Kundera explains in one of his typically taut disquisitions, kitsch comes in more than the totalitarian brand; it is endemic to our age. In a world full of beautiful lies, "kitsch is the absolute denial of shit, in both the literal and the figurative senses of the word; kitsch excludes everything from its purview which is essentially unacceptable in human existence." Its function? "Kitsch is a folding screen set up to curtain off death."

When Sabina cries, "My enemy is kitsch, not Communism," then, she seems to speak for Kundera who continuously shows us what both trivialization and absolutism mean. Franz, abandoned by Sabina, resumes his "Grand March," that example of political kitsch in which mankind joins in the rhetoric of "brotherhood, equality, justice, happiness." It takes him to the border of Thailand, after the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia, where a well-intentioned group of celebrities hoping to bring medical supplies into ravaged Cambodia face the "stunning silence" of indifference. It takes him to his senseless death, beaten by thugs in Bangkok; he thought they were beggars, or as political kitsch would have it, "third-world victims in need of his help." Kundera tempers this cruel theme — his cyncism here reaches its nadir — with an unmistakable empathy for Franz's idiotic goodness. The novelist in Kundera resists the tug of what can only be deemed another kind of kitsch: knee-jerk caricature. Nevertheless, it is kitsch, a simplistic political vision, that deludes Franz and renders him weightless.

What then does kitsch mean for those who bear burdens? Tereza and Tomas meet equally unheroic deaths when their truck crashes deep in the countryside to which they have long ago repaired. Tomas's son from a former marriage, a dreamy idealist like Franz, inscribes his father's gravestone: HE WANTED THE KINGDOM OF GOD ON EARTH. The son's religious fervor, however sincere, reduces his father's life to a cautionary tale, a moral lesson that misinterprets years of anguished uncertainty. But then kitsch pursues us all in death. Not quite forgotten, we're summarized in facile epitaphs, our lives robbed of dimension and distinction.

Kitsch is no longer kitsch, however, when exposed as a lie. But in a world that assaults truth and reality, how do we expose lies? Kundera mentions one fact time and again in his fiction, and most recently in the *New York Review* essay to which I have referred. When the Soviet henchman, Gustav Husak, came to power after the Prague Spring was crushed, he fired one hundred and forty-five historians from Czech universities. Down the memory hole. We've come full circle. When History, the story of the Grand March, overwhelms history, the messier tale with a small *h*, humanity has become superfluous. As in Orwell's Oceania or Garcia Marquez's Macondo, past civilization no longer guides us or provides standards. It's been wiped out, the body of things and people handed over to time's erosion. "In this world," Kundera writes at the start of his novel, "everything is pardoned in advance and therefore everything cynically permitted."

For all its burning compassion, extraordinary intelligence, and dazzling artistry, *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* leaves us with many questions, questions about love and death, about love and transcendence. These are our burdens, the existential questions that never change but need to be asked anew. What impresses us finally is that, like all the great literature in the struggle of memory against forgetting, it is the incidents, aphorisms, characters, and places in this novel which embed these questions in our consciousness no less strongly than the evil which provokes them: the ever-present threat of extinction.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Screen

SIMPLE FUN

MOVIES THAT JUST FALL SHORT

ROMANCING THE STONE is a big box-office winner that could have been so much better — one of those films commonly described, but too often simplistically defended, as "good of its kind." The film is an adventure fantasy, and is clearly patterned on the harum-scarum-thrills-a-minute approach of *Raiders of the Lost Ark*. With a small shift of emphasis in the screenplay, however, the film could have retained the sheer fun of such moviemaking and added a richer echo. It makes you ask why such an opportunity to combine action and emotion should have been so wasted.

The film stars Kathleen Turner, the *femme fatale* of *Body Heat*. Here she resembles a girl next door with a twist of lemon. Turner plays Joan Wilder, a writer of Harlequin-type romances featuring endangered damsels and vigorous he-men; the film opens as she tearfully concludes her latest heartthrob epic, a last-minute nick-of-time rescue of an imperiled Pauline by a Clint Eastwood look-alike. Crying over her word processor — implying only a true believer could *write* such trash — Turner eventually recovers to feed tuna to her starving cat. Sniffling, garbed in a flannel robe that looks three books old, Turner thus introduces us into her real life and its disheveled but charming domesticity on Manhattan's upper West Side.

Unfortunately, this prelude — rich, evocative, and potentially useful as a source of ironic contrast — is left hanging. As her name in the movie indicates, Turner has to grow "Wilder," and must embark on a journey to Colombia to bring a treasure map to gangsters holding her sister captive. After some greenhorn comedy (taking the wrong bus, which then hits a car in the mountains, which then requires her to carry her luggage high-heeled on a tropical back road), she finally meets Michael Douglas, certified he-man; and attempts to make him behave according to her peculiar romance writer's code of chivalry. On one occasion while she reprimands him for never looking at her while she talks to him, Douglas says nothing, then coolly machetés a snake angling toward a nibble at her left ear.

Romancing the Stone is fun, without question: besides the gangsters, the treasure lures some villainous police; besides the snakes, there are some waterfalls to cross and crocs to brave; and between Turner and Douglas there is some eventual and affectionate body heat. Nevertheless, *Romancing the Stone* wastes the opportunities that it raises and scuttles the chances its text implies. At no point does Turner reflect on the difference between what she had imagined her he-man would be like and what he actually is, or between her own passivity in New York and her vine commuting in the jungle. Similarly, Michael Douglas never reflects on his development from rough-and-tumble adventurer to nurturing carer. The points are there to score, but the script sweeps past them, as if to pause — for anything but sex — would somehow ruin the pacing. Yet a dramatic breather would have provided some contrast and allowed for explicit comment on the characters' emotional growth.

In the old days, moviemakers sometimes had the guts to play that gambit. In *The African Queen*, for example, the Douglas he-man, played by Humphrey Bogart, acknowledges the need to be less crusty and to meet the missionary schoolmarm half way. The Turner figure, Katherine Hepburn, grows a few jungle vines herself as she lets her hair down. Love becomes a meeting of two minds, not just a bumping of two bodies. That movie, in short, made *you* care, and thus gave you more than your money's worth. Turner is not yet Hepburn, and Michael not even Kirk Douglas, much less Humphrey Bogart. But acting aside, the truth is that "they just don't make 'em like they used to." Apparently, the prospect of uniting plot, spectacle, and character development was just too frightening for the makers of *Romancing the Stone*; they, too, could have gone for treasure, but didn't dare. While you laugh at the film, you also feel the loss.

MOSCOW ON THE HUDSON is a happy but troubling film. As a Russian circus musician, Vladimir Ivanoff, who defects while on tour in New York City, Robin Williams delightfully turns his talent at mimicry into perfect Russianized English, and transforms his normally antic energy into quiet strength, portraying Vladimir's mixed feelings of exile and hope. The film also contains a classic comical chase scene in, of all places, Bloomingdale's, site of the defection. "I have a defector between Estée Lauder and Pierre Cardin," a black security guard announces, a perfect expression of the film's jolly view of East-West relations.

The line is key, and Bloomingdale's is appropriate: director Paul Mazursky uses *Moscow on the Hudson* to portray America as a land of silk and money where Vlad can exchange long Russian queues for toilet paper for an American cornucopia of toilet water. The first scene in America is a shot of an ad for electronic equipment hovering over Times Square: "All stereophones," the ad declares, "are not created equal." But Mazursky also sees America as a world where all men *are*, as we are reminded in somewhat obvious refrains from the Declaration of Independence and Bill of Rights throughout the film. America is envisioned here as a spicy melting pot where Vlad is befriended by the security guard (Cleavant Derricks), becomes enamored of an Italian salesgirl (Maria Conchita Alonso), and is guided through immigration by a Cuban exile lawyer (Alexandro Rey). Thus Mazursky celebrates both consumerism and equality, and glibly glides over their price and clash.

For example, there is no notion of hostility among immigrant groups and no reflection of the difficulties of legal immigration if you come from the wrong country, as in the recent masterpiece on Guatemala, *El Norte*. Moreover,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mazursky shows no sense that the pursuit of unequal stereos doesn't help to sustain an egalitarian society. He views America as a land where you can *buy* whatever you want, and *be* whatever you want, with no concession to the conflict between economic freedom and social justice that so troubles our politics.

Only once is a real question raised, when Vlad, predictably, gets mugged. He escapes serious injury, but bruised and bloodied, rampages against America in a coffee shop afterward. "Goddamned insane country," he yells, and calls New York "brutal, crazy." "At least in Russia," Vlad laments, "you knew who the enemy was" — an interesting line about paranoia and the comfort of certainty, had Mazursky bothered to examine it. Instead, another exile, a giant from Leningrad, across the coffee counter, straightens Vlad out by asking him where he would rather be. "I'd rather be here," Vlad acknowledges.

In Mazursky's universe, *here* actually means New York. *Moscow on the Hudson* doesn't so much contrast Russia and America as New York and the rest of the world. There are almost no WASPS in the film and nary a view of the hinterlands; neither Main Street nor most of the American working class (remember *Silkwood*) are seen here, nor does anyone except a single Soviet Jewish refugee appear to have any religious attachments — Protestant, Catholic, or Russian Orthodox — despite their ethnic identities. Mazursky's tired, huddled masses are always first cousins to Bloomingdale's clientele. The movie's poster, appropriately, takes off from the brazen *New Yorker* cover that collapses the United States to Manhattan and California. Vlad's black pal puts down the South ("I was a refugee from Alabama once"); his girlfriend puts down Italy; and Mazursky — in an interview at the film's release — for good measure put down California, too: "There's more happening in an hour here than there is in Los Angeles in a month." *Moscow on the Hudson* views New York, in short, as the best of all possible worlds — a world not just according to Ronald Reagan, as some have charged about the film's politics, but a world according to Mayor Koch.

TOM O'BRIEN

(Tom O'Brien, one of the guest critics reviewing movies for Commonweal, *teaches at the Manhattan School of Music.)*

Dance

MARTHA GRAHAM

A MASTER AT NINETY

MARTHA GRAHAM celebrated her ninetieth birthday on May 11, 1984. She remains clearly in charge of her company, which offered a three-week season at New York State Theater in early spring. The discovery of Miss Graham on stage standing amidst her dancers inevitably provoked audiences to demonstrations of warmth and enthusiasm during the curtain calls. If Miss Graham were a building, some government agency would have already affixed a commemorative plaque to her.

Miss Graham continues to choreograph new works, but they seem to be done more from memory than out of the passionate conviction that marks her great dances. This season she offered "Phaedra's Dream" and "The Rite of Spring." Departing from her usual custom of commissioning music, she selected two scores from repertory.

The Stravinsky "Rite" has exercised an incredible attraction to choreographers, starting with Nijinsky who produced the first ballet to the score. When Leopold Stokowski introduced it to the United States with the Philadelphia Orchestra in the thirties he asked Leonid Massine to choreograph it. The "Chosen Maiden" was danced by the then younger Miss Graham who gave, by all accounts, one of the great performances of her career.

In her own version, the story of human sacrifice to assure successful growth of the tribe's plantings is told with a certain arbitrary brutalness that is a little shocking. "The Chosen One" is plucked out by the Shaman the way someone would pull a grape from a cluster. There is no sense of inevitability or fore-ordination but the workings of chance. After she is chosen she is tied with a winding rope and tossed about from one group of men to another. It gives one the sense of rape rather than rite.

Despite its aggressive tone the work has some beautiful moments for the corps. Overall it lacks any strong imaginative impulse. Miss Graham's gestures and vocabulary are there. The imaginative intensity that illuminates her best work is missing. We have in its stead a kit of dance movements that is Grahamesque in outline but not in content. Much the same could be said for "Phaedra's Dream" choreographed to "Lux Aeterna" by George Crumb.

The set consists of three monumental stone shapes: one right-angled, another inclined, and the third a large wheel. Each has several channels incised on its face. (The forms were originally created by Noguchi for "Alcestis", though the program omits mention of the earlier work.) Phaedra's initial mistake was to conceive an illicit passion for her stepson Hypolytus, and was the subject of Miss Graham's previous and stronger work titled "Phaedra." Now twenty years later, Phaedra dreams of this same stepson engaged in a homosexual encounter with someone known simply as "The Stranger." They spend a great deal of time thrashing about while Phaedra dashes to and fro quite upset. It sounds inconsequential, and it was.

More substantial fare was included in most of the programs. These were repertory pieces from the decades of the thirties, forties and fifties. The earliest piece presented was "Primitive Mysteries" which in 1931 was one of Miss Graham's earliest successes. It has retained its powerful impact because of the rigorous logic of its construction. A solitary woman in white enters in the midst of fourteen women in dark blue dresses. The piece is divided into three sections — "Hymn to the Virgin," "Crucifixus" and "Hosanna." After each the group marches

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

slowly from the stage in unison and returns the same way. It has all the feelilng of rite and ceremony that the larger scaled "Rite of Spring" so conspicuously lacked.

"Deaths and Entrances" examines the hothouse lives of the Brontë sisters with brooding intensity if not complete clarity. The sisters as adults relive episodes from the recent and distant past and try to resolve their present relationships. At the end, the most driven of the sisters places a glass goblet on a game board where her sisters have been moving odd shaped pieces. The large intrusive goblet functions as a trump card and gives the triumph to her. She becomes, we assume, the first among equals, but the solution is not as important as the telling with its whisps of memory and flashes of insight. "Deaths and Entrances" is very much like a dream where fantasy logic rules. Little is clear but nothing happens by chance. Arch Lauterer's set was kept for the most part, but the large curtained window that dwarfs the dancers was omitted. That was a mistake since it had added immeasurably to the enclosed hermetic character of the house in which they were living.

"Embattled Garden," dating from 1958, is another examination of close relations, this time the biblical Adam, Eve, someone called "The Stranger," and Lilith (some legends hold her to have been Adam's first wife). It is Lilith and "The Stranger" who disrupt the innocent garden in which Adam and Eve dwell. In one of those stunningly simple but provocative gestures, Miss Graham suggests a readiness for transgression by having Eve allow Lilith to tie her formerly loose hair with a ribbon. It is only a small thing, but the sum total of such moments and the intensity with which each gesture grows organically out of the last, makes the piece powerfully effective.

"Errand Into The Maze," 'Seraphic Dialogue," and "Diversion of Angels" were other strong additions from repertory that gave the Graham programs their disturbingly mixed character. They are so good, while the most recent work is so derivatively thin. Creatively, Miss Graham is plagiarizing herself with her new works, and not very well.

All of her new works have been costumed by Halston, and some of the standard repertory pieces as well. These latter would be just as well left alone. In "Seraphic Dialogue" some of the new costumes were abandoned after their first appearance for a return to the originals. The decision was a wise one. In keeping with Miss Graham's long-standing penchant for having her female dancers covered from throat to instep and her male dancers wearing the equivalent of the briefest swim trunks, Halston has produced costumes that conform stylishly to the requirements, but show little imagination.

The dancing of the company grew more assured as the season went on. What had been a rather tentative "Primitive Mysteries" became a forceful dance in the latter parts of the season. Individuals like Takako Asakawa, Peggy Lyman, and Yuriko Kimura as the ranking female dancers in the company were in excellent form, as was newcomer Maxine Sherman in "Garden" as Lilith. Christine Dakin and Larry White were a very effective pair in "Errand," and Jean Louis Morin showed a strong intense character whenever he appeared. Overall the company is strong, perhaps not the powerhouse that it was in the early sixties, but one that is responsive to Miss Graham's needs and has demonstrated a capacity for growth.

Miss Graham is still a force as a master of dramatic dance, a form of theater that is once again being taken up seriously by a generation of choreographers that was weaned on minimal dance. Miss Graham simply endures, doing her work and allowing herself to be rediscovered every time another generation comes along. From the vantage point of ninety she is surprised by little. In the sixties the structural purity of "Primitive Mysteries" was a revelation to that generation. Now the power of emotionally laden gesture has new meaning. Who knows, for her next season Miss Graham may decide to revive some of her humorous dances. My nomination would be "Punch and Judy."

DON McDONAGH

The Bishops' Pastoral

On every side of the nuclear issue, we are seeing new uncertainties and a sense that everything must be thought through again. On the one hand, new life is being pumped into the movement for arms control. On the other, there is also the danger of irreversible steps in escalating the arms race. . . .

Will the two superpowers continue to stall for advantage — the U.S. until we've pursued our current buildup or demonstrated our will by Congressional approval of the MX or deployment of the missiles in Europe next December, the Soviets until European peace demonstrations take their toll or America's '84 presidential election is over? The danger is that both capitals will drift right by the present "window of opportunity." The bishops' appeal for reasonable but nonetheless bold initiatives to counter the arms race could not come at a more appropriate time.

Commonweal, May 20, 1983

11 issues for $9

OFFER FOR NEW SUBSCRIBERS ONLY

COMMONWEAL, 232 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10016

Please send the next 6 months of *Commonweal* to:

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

☐ **I prefer a full year subscription at $24.**

5/18/84

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books: THE DICTATES OF NIGHTMARE

NOVEMBER 1918:
A GERMAN REVOLUTION
VOLUME I: A PEOPLE BETRAYED
VOLUME II: KARL AND ROSA

Alfred Döblin

Fromm International, $10.95 each vol., 642 pp. and 547 pp.

David H. Richter

At the 1918 armistice, Germany teetered at the edge of an abyss. The Kaiser had abdicated and fled to Holland and a German Republic had been declared. Workers' and soldiers' councils dominated the Berlin streets: was a Communist revolution such as had convulsed Russia in the offing?

The man in the middle was Friedrich Ebert, leader of the Social Democratic Party and of a shaky coalition of liberals and independent socialists. De facto Chancellor of the fallen empire, Ebert faced challenges to his rule from both the left and the right, and both groups potentially possessed far more power than he. On the right were the generals and the Junkers, the military aristocracy of Germany, discredited by the disasters of the war, but nevertheless the traditional rulers of the Reich; in their retreat from the battlefields to the homeland they would be leading the frontline troops, armed and accustomed to obedience. On the left was Spartacus, the Communist party of Germany, led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, with their power to inspire revolt in the workers of Berlin; Spartacus was more idealistic than the Junkers but perhaps equally disciplined and inspired by Lenin's victories. How could Ebert and his government survive this dual challenge?

In fact Ebert did. When the armies of the Western Front converged on the capital in December, far from supporting a royalist coup, they could not even maintain their integrity: the organism of the old order melted away into solitary cells, single ex-soldiers seeking their homes. And when Spartacus made its move to seize power in the name of the workers in January 1919, the putsch was quelled within the week. Two thousand revolutionaries died in the fighting, and on January 15 Spartacus was effectively decapitated when, on their way to prison, Liebknecht and Luxemburg were murdered by their captors. The German Republic was saved.

Apparently. In fact Ebert's was a Pyrrhic victory. In destroying Spartacus he had put himself into the hands of the army. And in the process he had fatally alienated the center-left coalition which supported true democracy in Germany, and the masses who supported that coalition. He had licensed the Junkers' revenge, and, once they had tasted the blood of Karl and Rosa, they continued to silence their opposition from the democratic left to the Catholic center through assassination squads; Erzberger, Rathenau, and over three hundred others were murdered in the following years. Ebert's government, evading the urban proletariat of Berlin, moved to Weimar. He had saved the name of the Republic at the cost of its essence and assured that, after the social upheavals of hyperinflation and Depression, Germany, lacking experience with genuine democratic institutions, would be ruled either by the generals or the Nazis.

> *"We Germans, . . . are very businesslike, very serious. If this tribe . . . is to be forced out of its Buddhistic contemplations, forced to act, then that action must be a consequence of the contemplation. Which means the deed must have a philosophical, a theological core. It is my deep conviction that a revolution can occur in Germany only on theological grounds and to a theological end. All the rest are only peripheral revolutions, in other words, disturbances of the peace. . . . I prophesy that Marxism will come to a sad end here in Germany, because its theological core is too harmless. The heaven on earth it promises is not enough. Neither hunger nor hate will set us in motion – only God and Satan. . . ."*
>
> —Alfred Döblin
> *November 1918*

This, in brief, is the public side of the story Alfred Döblin tells in *November 1918: A German Revolution*, and in it he makes the case that the nine weeks between the Armistice and the murders of Karl and Rosa constituted the crucial moment in German history between the reunification under Bismarck and the formation of Hitler's Third Reich. But as Döblin tells it, the saga contains no heroes and few villains. Ebert himself was well-intentioned and no fool; Liebknecht was more a Hamlet than a Lenin. In Döblin's narrative they blunder towards their fatal confrontation, Liebknecht at the mercy of his followers, Ebert always overtaken by events. Comically absurd chance happenings seem to dictate the course of the struggle as much as the impersonal forces of history: Döblin's story reads at times like a cross between *War and Peace* and *Catch 22*.

But the public story is only half the story Döblin tells, or rather less than half of it. Interwoven with these events are the private lives and the even more private nightmares of the men and women of Berlin, the exhausted ex-officers and military nurses, war profiteers and semi-prostitutes, thieves, and respectable laborers. The panorama of the German folk is even more essential here than in the author's more celebrated novel *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, for in Döblin as in Tolstoy history is no product of the will of great men but a summation of the decisions of thousands. The spectacle is one with which the distorted, expressionistic satirical drawings of Georg Grosz have made us familiar.

Within that mass spectacle, though, Döblin focuses on two tragic figures, both possessed by demons within. One is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rosa Luxemburg herself, for whom Döblin fabulates a scarifying dream sequence externalizing her well-documented internal conflict between political ideology and personal passion. The other is a fictional creation, the idealistic schoolmaster Friedrich Becker. Torn in conscience and driven to attempted suicide by guilt over the war, Becker undergoes a Christian rebirth. But he is not allowed to attain the peace of God he seeks: joining the Spartacist revolt almost by accident, Becker survives the massacre to spend the Weimar years as a wandering prophet. In his handling of these spiritually tortured characters Döblin is more akin to Dostoevsky than to Tolstoy.

Born in 1878, Alfred Döblin was trained as a neurologist and psychiatrist; like Hannes Düsterberg, the dead lover who haunts Rosa Luxemburg's dreams, he spent World War I as an army doctor. An Independent Socialist in politics, Döblin worked for two decades as a physician in the Berlin slums while spending all the time he could snatch from his practice developing an original expressionistic fiction. His novels brought him the respect of contemporaries like Kafka but (till the success in 1929 of *Berlin Alexanderplatz)* very little fame. As both a Socialist and a Jew, Döblin fled from Germany to France in 1933 and then to America, one jump ahead of the Wehrmacht, in 1940. In that year Döblin, like his character Becker, experienced a religious conversion and became a Roman Catholic, though one more existentialist than orthodox. *November 1918: A German Revolution* was written in Paris and San Francisco between 1937 and 1941, though its German publication was delayed until 1950 and its English translation had to wait for Döblin's posthumous recognition here via Rainer Werner Fasabinder's recent film, *Berlin Alexanderplatz*. He died in Alsace in 1957.

As Günter Grass, his fellow expressionist and his most renowned disciple, admits, Döblin stands in the second rank of modern German writers below Mann and Kafka. Nevertheless there is no absurdity in the comparison that has been made between *November 1918* and *Doctor Faustus*. Both novels are gnarled and knotty, bitterly funny, ambiguously ironic, psychologically profound, exasperatingly demanding of one's patience and intelligence. And both lead the reader to a devastating sense of a personal tragedy inextricably linked with the larger world-tragedy that is twentieth-century Germany.

Laissez faire lives!

REALITY AND RHETORIC

STUDIES IN THE ECONOMICS OF DEVELOPMENT

P. T. Bauer
Harvard, $15, 184 pp.

Ernest Bartell

LOGIC in the service of ideology is a weapon that P. T. Bauer has brandished with vigor over the years in defense of rudimentary neoclassical economics as the paradigm for global development policy. Lord Bauer explicitly professes "a reluctance to formulate a theory of economic development," so his defense consists principally of swashbuckling attacks upon those he perceives as his challengers in the worlds of academe and public policy. With verbal assaults rather than with positive proposals for theory and policy, Lord Bauer has called his readers over the years to share his cherished beliefs in the sufficiency for humankind of an economic order defined by unconstrained private ownership of property and by the unhampered pursuit of private profit through an all-encompassing system of free markets for goods and services, labor, and financial capital.

Reality and Rhetoric consists of eight such assaults published as essays over the past thirty years, some in revised and expanded form, plus previously unpublished opening and closing chapters. Each of the essays bristles with attacks on Lord Bauer's chosen adversaries, and they are a diverse lot. From the 1950s there are development economists and local policy makers in the newly independent nations carved out of colonial "British Africa." Advocates of development planning and foreign aid of all types are led to Lord Bauer's verbal slaughter. One development economist, Nicholas Stern, rates an entire essay of rebuttal to his 1974 critique of Lord Bauer's development economics. Lord Bauer has also discovered the Christian churches to be riddled with challengers to his beliefs, so there is a recently published essay provocatively titled "Ecclesiastical Economics: Envy Legitimized" in which his principal adversary is the late Pope Paul VI.

In his review of development literature Lord Bauer dissects the modernization theories popular in the fifties with arguments familiar to a whole generation of social scientists of all political persuasions. According to the simplistic modernization theories the development of poor and stagnating countries must march to the tune of the rich and progressing countries. Lord Bauer, like many other commentators, notes that this picture "does not do justice to the rich variety of humanity and experience in the less developed world." He correctly observes that elements of these theories have disappeared from academic literature, but he fails to give his readers any indication of the evolution of development theory since its early Eurocentric phase. The structuralist analyses of development, the rise and decline of dependency theory, global interdependence, the "basic needs" policy literature, and the interdisciplinary attempts to identify alternative, often culturally indigenous, strategies for development plus the policies that have sprung from them are mostly ignored in Lord Bauer's literature review.

Such omissions are, of course, the author's right, but they surely undercut his sweeping assertion that it is the discredited modernization theories which "have continued to dominate political and public discourse." It would be more correct to say that policy makers are still caught in the complexity of a development process that contains conflicts between the exigencies of national and international market integration and the as-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pirations of the people in a particular society and culture. Lord Bauer seems not to find any inconsistency between his condemnation of modernization according to the dictates of the dominant players on the world scene and his unrelenting advocacy of national and international free markets for goods, resources, and technology, which are major carriers of Western culture, tastes, and attitudes.

Lord Bauer's use of history to defend his neoclassical economic principles is selective. He is quick to criticize the inefficiencies of marketing boards, collectivized agriculture, and other forms of government intervention in developing economies, while praising Western-style industrial growth in the relatively open economies of Japan, Taiwan, Korea, and even Brazil. At the same time he chooses not to mention the dramatic failure of the much heralded regime in Chile during the 1970s. The Chilean commitment to completely free international movement of goods and financial capital succeeded in bankrupting a major share of the country's industry with resulting unemployment of close to 30 percent. His word of praise for rapid industrial growth in Brazil also tactfully ignores the crippling Brazilian debt crisis of the past two years.

Lord Bauer's analysis of "ecclesiastical economics" is even more selective, and his assertions even more sweeping than in his treatment of development literature. After telling his readers that "modern clerical opinion endows envy with moral legitimacy and intellectual respectability," he proceeds to the intellectual feat of defining "the central theme and supporting arguments" of Christian social teaching on distributive and social justice in less than four lines, beginning with the assertions, "social justice requires that incomes should be substantially equal; appreciable differences in incomes reflect exploitation, oppression, discrimination or improper privilege." Catholic readers may be flattered that Lord Bauer chooses two letters of Paul VI as the principal sources for his discoveries of the errors in Christian social teaching. He finds these letters unequivocally "immoral."

(Continued on page 308)

Religious booknotes — 1

Again, the question of God

Mary Gerhart

SCARCELY twenty years ago, Alasdair MacIntyre remarked in a lecture at Columbia University that the question of God's existence was no longer at the center of religious thought. He wondered whether this situation might not presage a change in the character of the theistic debate. Recent publications indicate that such a change may be taking place; certainly, the discussion of the question of God is charged with new issues and resources.

In *The Sources of Modern Atheism*, Marcel Neusch argues that contemporary indifference to the question of God is a tacit tribute to the victory of atheism. This book is an excellent retrieval of the nineteenth-century "obsequies of God" whose liturgies today appear to the believer as "somewhat outdated." Chapters on classical atheists, such as Feuerbach, Marx, Freud, and Nietzsche, are followed by chapters on figures of increasing ambiguity regarding the issue of God's existence — Sartre, Garaudy, and Bloch. Neusch thinks that either unbelief has run its course — in which case a new era of belief in God is possible — or that unbelief in God has become unbelief in human beings. Although a "yes" or "no" to the question of the existence of God is possible, these answers are neither self-evident nor equal in value. Neusch argues, as does Hans Küng in *Does God Exist?*, that the question of God involves human trust *and* rationality and that it cannot be reduced to "pure" trust or rationality.

The Sources of Modern Atheism, *by Marcel Neusch, trans. by Matthew J. O'Connell, Paulist Press, $9.95, paper, 264 pp.*

J.L. Mackie's *The Miracle of Theism: Arguments for and against the Existence of God,* published posthumously, restricts itself to resources within the analytic tradition. A "full and fair hearing is given" wherever classical theistic debates (Descartes, ontological arguments, Berkeley, cosmological arguments, moral arguments, belief without reason) are in focus. The conclusion of the book, however, in which Küng's position is dismissed as both contradictory and false, seems unnecessarily fractious. What is perhaps most dubious is Mackie's use of the term "fact": He does not see any way of defending religion once we admit that "the literal, factual claim that there is a God cannot be rationally sustained." The book ends with a play on Braithwaite's adage, "Trust God and keep your powder dry." For Mackie, "to trust God to keep your powder dry for you is the height of folly." By restricting its attention to literal understanding, the book demonstrates, over and above its conclusion that theism is untenable, that the analytic approach remains inconclusive.

The Miracle of Theism: Arguments for and against the Existence of God, *by J.L. Mackie, Clarendon Press, $9.95, paper, 268 pp.*

For Leszek Kolakowski, the inadequacy of a literal understanding of God is never in doubt. God as an "explanatory hypothesis in the scientific sense . . . amounts simply to asserting that the world, both natural

MARY GERHART *teaches hermeneutics, religion, and literature at Hobart and William Smith Colleges in Geneva, New York.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

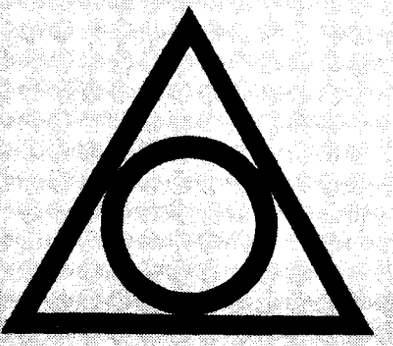
and social, is governed by moral, instead of (and not in addition to) physical and biological laws, or that the latter do not operate." The author of this Masterguides book on religion in the series edited by Frank Kermode is a MacArthur award recipient, a well-known philosopher, and a historian of religious thought. *Religion: If There Is No God . . . On God, the Devil, Sin and Other Worries of the So-called Philosophy of Religion* comes highly recommended: I know of one non-religious scholar who said that if he had to recommend one book on religion to his secular colleagues, it would be this one. Kolakowski steers a middle course through the historical disputes regarding faith and reason. He thinks that the church, although guilty of a number of tragic mistakes (such as in its judgment on Galileo) showed good sense in refusing to blur the line between faith and intellectual assent to rational argument. The effect of this refusal was to define itself "by criteria which allowed of no distinction whatsoever between the culture of elites and that of paupers in spirit." Ranging brilliantly and passionately through the history of Western religious thought, Kolakowski has also interspersed, bold-faced throughout the text, brief quotations from non-Western and Western thinkers, sometimes to reinforce his argument, sometimes to counterpoise it. The book holds the theological and folk aspects of religion in thoughtful balance.

Religion: If There Is No God . . . On God, the Devil, Sin and Other Worries of the So-called Philosophy of Religion, *by Leszek Kolakowski, Oxford University, $7.95, paper, 235 pp.*

Nothing in philosophical theology necessarily entails, for Kolakowski, "the quality of a fatherly curator who wants to save us, to protect us, and eventually to give us the everlasting hospitality of His Kingdom." On such issues, he thinks, philosophical theology is irrelevant. In fact, if not in intention, Kolakowski's disjunction of particular images from particular concepts of God would seem to create a context for theological reflection on concepts of God's feminine qualities.

Although all of the foregoing books are exclusively androcentric, the task of retrieving the Goddess is just beginning to come into its own. One of the most valuable contributions to that task is *The Book of the Goddess: Past and Present,* edited by Carol Olson. With sixteen essays by distinguished historians of religion on goddesses of representative Eastern and Western cultures, the book concludes with an essay by a feminist theologian who makes explicit the argument which threads through the individual essays. In her study of the Anatolian prehistoric goddess, Anne Barstow suggests that "it is possible that neither patriarchy nor matriarchy describes the methods of early community control and that these terms, which come from nineteenth-century comparative religious terms, are useless in analyzing many preliterate cults." The collection of essays is remarkably even, and in the order in which they are presented they illuminate one another. Carol Christ cites Tillich's enigmatic statement, "God is a symbol for God," to legitimize the need to "transform the image of God." Basic to this imperative is the belief that "the struggle for equal rights is supported by the nature of reality."

The Book of the Goddess, Past and Present: An Introduction to Her Religion, *edited by Carol Olsen, Crossroad, $19.50, 261 pp.*



Martin A. Lang describes how images of God are formed in childhood and adolescence in *Acquiring Our Image of God: Emotional Basis for Religious Education.* His thesis is that since the child's first experience of human life is the experience of caring parents, caring parents or their substitutes form the basis for the child's experience of God. Personal story and communal story are the two foci of the growing child's meaning structure. The book is replete with examples and is directed toward Christian education.

Acquiring Our Image of God: Emotional Basis for Religious Education, *by Martin A. Lang, Paulist Press, $5.95, paper, 145 pp.*

To the Unknown God is Petru Dumitriu's autobiography of religious reflection. Recounting particular atrocities and evils of our age, the author asks early in the book, "My God, why have you forsaken us?" "Why have you forsaken each other?" is God's plausible reply. Dumitriu reflects that for every person who gives his or her life for another, 100,000 others let their comrades die, or kill them. He recalls incidents when human beings simply ignored the plight of another human being — incidents in which he either participated or witnessed. A Rumanian novelist and poet, Dumitriu's personal account in this book is believable and strikingly memorable.

To the Unknown God, *by Petru Dumitriu, trans. by James Kirkup, Seabury Press, $11.95, paper, 247 pp.*

If it is true that each generation must articulate its own answer to the question which has historically divided the religious traditions, these readings go a long way toward providing resources for forming new judgments and tenable positions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Continued from page 306)

Lest Protestant theologians feel slighted, the reader is told that many other Christian clerics besides the popes have chosen to speak on subjects about which they are ignorant. Paul VI, however, is found guilty of "arguments and allegations [which] reflect unthinking surrender to intellectual fashion and political nostrums." Drawing upon his own previously undisclosed theological background, Lord Bauer tells his readers that the letters of Paul VI "are not theological, doctrinal, or philosophical statements reaffirming Christian beliefs . . . . They are political statements supported by bogus arguments, and as such can only confuse believers."

Fortunately, the popes and his readers have Lord Bauer to set them straight. The pope ought not to use the "catch-phrase 'the earth belongs to all,' " which for Lord Bauer epitomizes the central thrust of papal documents. Such phrases, he instructs us, are "bound to provoke envy, or something stronger." So too is the persistent preoccupation of ignorant clerics with income inequalities between rich nations and poor nations. Lord Bauer's pastoral advice to clerics is that they should be offering compassion, presumably in lieu of saying things that might make the natives restless. Certainly clerics like Paul VI should not be offering foreign aid out of Lord Bauer's tax payments. "It is anomalous," he states in an apparent reversal of his earlier condemnation of modernization literature and praise of the rich variety of human experience in the third world, "to insist [as Paul VI does] that the West should respect Third World cultures and at the same time to urge that the West should pay taxes for the benefit of those who embrace cultures inimical to economic advance." If they aren't willing to play by our rules, let them starve.

Lord Bauer's assault on Christian social teaching is less an essay on justice than a diatribe against interference with free markets and against the distribution of wealth and income according to any norms other than those of the marketplace. The fact that the terms of trade in international markets are consistently biased against the international purchasing power of primary products, the principal exports of most Third World countries, may disturb the clerics, but apparently does not concern Lord Bauer.

> *In common with many other modern Christian clerics, Paul VI, his predecessor John XXIII, and to some extent also John Paul II, have chosen to speak on subjects with which they have been unfamiliar. . . . The Pope's arguments and allegations reflect unthinking surrender to intellectual fashion and political nostrums. . . .* Populorum Progressio *and* Octogesima Adveniens *are documents which are immoral on several levels.*
>
> —P. T. Bauer
> *Reality and Rhetoric*

Neither does the fact that in countries with surplus labor the operation of free labor markets can prevent workers from appropriating the income generated by gains in their own productivity, as workers in the West are accustomed to do. Lord Bauer also fails to address the deleterious impact that the proclivity of the very rich in many developing countries to consume luxury imports and to export their savings has on employment for their less favored fellow citizens.

In his reflections on social justice Lord Bauer is equally undisturbed by the fact that the high concentration of ownership of land and natural resources in many countries of Latin America, often coupled with the protection of military-authoritarian governments, precludes effective economic and political participation by vast numbers of human beings. Indeed, Lord Bauer assures the popes that "lack of natural resources, including land, has little or nothing to do with the poverty of individuals or of societies." Instead, he piously comments "the presence of landless workers in such areas reflects . . . primarily the lack of ambition, enterprise, and skill." The *campesinos* in El Salvador might well disagree. Indeed, the Asians whose industrial success stories Lord Bauer touts might also like to point out that their success has been preceded and accompanied by land reforms and by fiscal policies for income redistribution.

For those interested in a compendium of Lord Bauer's visceral sentiments about economics, theology, and culture the present volume should prove useful. However, those interested in the complex issues of human development in the third world might, with good neoclassical rationality, prefer to spend their time and money elsewhere.

Signs & portents on the edges

RELIGION IN THE SECULAR CITY
TOWARDS A POSTMODERN THEOLOGY
Harvey Cox
Simon & Schuster, $16.95, 304 pp.

Lawrence S. Cunningham

MANY academic theologians wonder openly (and — let's be honest here — jealously) why Harvey Cox gets so much attention from the national media. Cox is hardly a Paul Tillich but there he is on page one of the Sunday *New York Times Book Review*. Cox has two things going for him: He is a very lively writer and he is a master of what I would call the "you are there" style of theological discourse; he is a sort of Baptist Xavier Rynne. In 1965 Cox reported from the heady swirl of the urban metropolis in *The Secular City*; in 1969 he theologized amid the flower children and New Left activists *(The Feast of Fools)*; in 1973 we got direct coverage (or uncoverage) from the hot tubs of Esalen in *The Seduction of the Spirit*. It is now 1984 and Cox tells us what is going on in two strangely paired locations: Jerry Falwell's fundamentalist Vatican in Lynchburg, Virginia, and the "basic Christian communities" of Latin America.

Cox uses these two exemplary locations to argue his basic thesis: modern liberal theology is in a terminal state and postmodern theology is suffering its birthpangs. This postmodern theology, Cox believes, is emerging "from the bot-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tom and at the edges," which is to say from those folks who have figured very little in the discourse of modern theological concerns. He sees in American fundamentalism (of which Falwell is the synecdoche) one conspicuous counterforce to liberal theological presuppositions but judges that movement deficient as a basis for a new theology. He is much more sanguine about the potential of the liberationist base community movement in Latin America.

The fundamentalist movement is treated honestly by Cox but not as incisively as Frances FitzGerald's reportage in the *New Yorker* a few years ago. He sees fundamentalism's demand for reason in theology (faith is not a leap but a reasonable choice), its fierce critique of the rootlessness of modernity, and its desire for alternatives to the faceless bureaucracies of both church and state as valid critiques. Sadly enough he makes no use of the writings of Francis Schaeffer, who is the closest thing fundamentalism has to an intellectual, to buttress his case. Schaeffer's writings are tendentious to an extreme but they do look squarely at modern culture. In the last analysis, however, Cox thinks that fundamentalism will not provide a context for postmodern religiousness because the movement seems incapable of bringing a critical spirit to the *status quo*. He further sees their demonizing of bureaucracies as setting up straw men since they have no sense of the myriad human communities which coexist in such large structures. This latter critique, ironically enough, is the same one used against Cox by Andrew Greeley regarding the reality of the "secular city" and "secular man."

The basic Christian communities and the liberation theology behind them hold more promise. They reflect the religious hopes of the people who never had the chance to make their peace with modernity. They remain at the margins, but as they find their religious voice liberal theology remains bemused since it never spoke to this audience. Cox analyzes both the Latin American communities (where he has had firsthand experience both as teacher and observer) as well as liberationist movements in Europe and Asia. He recognizes that generalizations are dangerous to make because of vast cultural differences. Base communities in Latin America reflect a homogeneous Catholic experience of some centuries standing while the liberation theology of Sri Lanka reflects a minority religion and its problems. He also recognizes that the persistence of religion in the postmodern period is a mixed blessing. We applaud religion for bashing the Bolsh in Poland but are appalled at its use in Iran.

What is to be said of all this with respect to North America? Cox would agree that liberation theology from Latin America cannot be imported as a whole. I think he might also concede, *pace* Johannes Metz, that we must take into account the middle class church experience here. One point Cox makes seems unimpeachable: much of current religious vitality comes from small voluntaristic groups (many under the umbrella of the too easily despised parish) which come together both for a deepened spirituality and a passion for social justice. In my own very middle class university-*cum*-state-government town the free hot meals, shelters for the homeless, centers for battered families, the mentally ill and the addicted, the home for families visiting prisoners, the organization to build low-cost housing are all sponsored by ecumenical church efforts or are heavily supported by them. It is these groups (and those like L'Arche, the Catholic Workers, etc.) who may be fleshing out a postmodern theology. What the shape of that theology will be is not yet clear, so Cox is tentative and a bit blurred when it comes to specifics. What he does do well is prompt his readers to think about what is going on today in this period of religious ferment.

Cox, then, is taking the pulse of the present. His most vocal critics accuse him of suffering from a kind of intellectual AIDS: a defenseless susceptibility to every trendy virus current in the Zeitgeist. I think that unfair. Cox does well what he set out to do: scan the horizon from his ivory tower in Cambridge and venture forth on some field trips looking for signs and portents. He may just have spotted one or two this time.

Rituals of idleness & denial

A HOUSE IN THE COUNTRY
José Donoso
Knopf, $16.95, 352 pp.

Clara Claiborne Park

JOSÉ DONOSO is a Chilean, but his house could be in any country where Europeans took over a vast land from its native inhabitants, recreated themselves as an aristocracy, and erected an elaborate superstructure of civilization over exploitation, ignorance, contempt, and fear. His characters are the Venturas — seven middle-aged sisters and brothers, their spouses, their thirty-three children — and his subject is history. But not, as in the hundred-year solitude of Gabriel Marquez's Buendía family, history as dream and life as wonder, but history as nightmare.

The Venturas only spend the summer in the house. Vastness surrounds it; outside the fence of gold-tipped lances which protects its lawns, its lagoon, its roses, peacocks, and rare trees, there is nothing but sighing grasses until the far horizon of blue mountains. Once the land was various and fertile, tilled by native farmers; the ineradicable grass, accidentally introduced by an irresponsible ancestor of the irresponsible Venturas, became their collaborator in destroying the natives' economy and converting them into slaves to work the family gold mines. Each autumn the grasses emit a blizzard of thistledown which chokes everything that breathes, but by that time the Venturas' long cavalcade of carriages and wagons has returned to the far capital, carrying this year's supply of gold.

Inside the lances, society is three-tiered: adult Venturas, the children, and an army of servants who hate their masters as both masters and servants hate the naked natives. Cannibals, they call them, to justify their exploitation and to frighten the children. Among crystal and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

brocade, rosewood and tromp-l'oeil frescos, the Venturas occupy themselves with the tedious rituals of idleness and hypercivilization. Ignored except when they are petted, the thirty-three children are up to all sorts of tricks, sexual and otherwise. After curfew their parents assign them to the control of the lackeys, who treat them with the servile cruelty natural when those defined as above them are, in fact, utterly in their power.

The great house is a labyrinthine universe. The Venturas know little enough about the noisome cellars where the lackeys sleep, and neither lackeys nor masters know of the salt mine beneath them, or the tunnel that leads to the native settlement on the river they pollute with their sewage, or the lightless room which still holds the brilliant feathered costumes confiscated from the natives generations ago, symbols of their pride as their nakedness is of their degradation. In the Ventura universe the dark and the unpleasant is simply declared nonexistent. Denial has worked for longer than anyone can remember. One sister is blind; it is she who talks incessantly of the colors of paintings, fabrics, and flowers. The idealistic brother-in-law who became too interested in the natives has been declared mad and imprisoned in a tower from which his shouts are declared inaudible. The family "dark curtain" is dropped over the demise of eight-year-old Mignon after she roasts her sister Aida in the cellar oven and serves her with an apple in her mouth.

No, we're not meant to believe it. The author has stationed himself at our elbow to warn us that in spite of the misleading verisimilitude of his narrative, we're reading a fable, an "artifice." *A House in the Country* exists in an unsettling limbo between family chronicle and social allegory. It's crammed with characters and with plot, with information plotted and withheld, with turns, twists, and surprises. Donoso, who forsook the realism of his early work for the hallucinatory modernism of his *Obscene Bird of Night*, here addresses his readers with nineteenth-century directness and more than nineteenth-century frequency, asking us to acknowledge "that such old-fashioned machinery, now in discredit, may yet give results as substantial as those offered by more modern conventions . . . with their secret arsenal of illusion." The imagination of writer and reader are to merge "in a world where the appearance of reality is always accepted as appearance, with an authority all its own."

Thus the author commands us to distance ourselves from the substantial yet illusory horrors he has imagined — not only the baroque quotidian cruelties of Ventura family life, but the far worse ones that ensue when adults and lackeys go off for a *fête champêtre* and leave the children alone to release the imprisoned idealist, pull up the gold-tipped lances, convert them to weapons, let in the natives, and image a revolution for their parents to put down, only themselves to be . . . . But enough. When plot matters, one doesn't give it away. Suffice it to say that there are survivors from this fictive past to history's continuing nightmare of present and future. It's a nightmare from which, at the end, the author offers us a hope of awakening, a hope which though slight is on the positive side of infinitesimal. Donoso, who published *A House in the Country* in Spain, has returned to Chile, where he is once again working and teaching. One wonders for how long, and what Augusto Pinochet would make of this dark and various fable.

Crime doesn't pay

THE EVOLUTION OF COOPERATION

Robert Axelrod

Basic Books, $17.95, 241 pp.

Kenneth E. Boulding

SOMETIMES in the course of the evolutionary process, whether biological, societal or intellectual, a mutation, an invention, or an idea that seems very simple and might not be noticed much at the time sets off an extraordinary phylum of development. Such was the idea of the two-person game, especially in its non-zero-sum form, and in the special case of the "prisoner's dilemma." Robert Axelrod notes that this was "invented in about 1950 by Merrill Flood and Melvin Dresher and formalized by A. W. Tucker shortly thereafter." It is interesting that none of these three authors appears in the otherwise excellent bibliography, which suggests perhaps how little noticed it was at the time. The concept stimulated in the interim a large amount of empirical research and has thrown light on an extraordinary variety of social situations.

The prisoner's dilemma can be described very simply even without the familiar diagram. We have two people interacting, each of whom can either be "good" or "bad." If they are both good, they are *both better off*. If they are both good, it may pay one of them to be bad, at least in the short run. If one is bad, however, it pays the other to be bad, so they end up both being bad and *both being worse off* than if they both had been good. In the original story of the two prisoners, "good" was not squealing on the other; "bad" was squealing on the other. Although it pays both parties enormously to be good, the dynamics of the situation very frequently push them into the bad-bad box, where they are both very much worse off. In formal game theory, the word for good is "cooperate" and for bad is "defect." We could also read arm and disarm, not cheat and cheat, trust and betray, and so on through a very long series of human behaviors. The single double decision is called a "game," a picturesque but not really very descriptive term. "Interaction" would perhaps be better.

The Axelrod contribution consists, first, of two extraordinary experiments, two long series of individual games between pairs of players following a considerable variety of strategies. Fifteen players participated in the first round and sixty-three in the second, both including a random strategy. It is rare in empirical research in human behavior to find an outstandingly clear conclusion which makes sense. In both these rounds, however, a very simple strategy emerges at the top, interestingly enough, developed

(Continued on page 314)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW PAPERBACKS FROM CROSSROAD

Edward Schillebeeckx
☐ **CHRIST**
The Experience of Jesus as Lord
"More than any other biblical or systematic theologian, he has set forth the early Christian experiences of Christ . . ."—*Theological Studies*
928pp $14.95 pbk

Christine Downing
☐ **THE GODDESS**
Mythological Images of the Feminine
How the great female figures of Greece illuminate the experience of contemporary women. "Profound, provocative, and moving . . ."
—CAROL P. CHRIST
256 pages $9.95 pbk

Helen Luke
☐ **WOMAN: EARTH AND SPIRIT**
The Feminine in Symbol and Myth
An explanation of the rich and complex legacy of the feminine. "Applicable to real life."—*The Living Church*
112 pages $5.95 pbk

Edward Whitmont
☐ **RETURN OF THE GODDESS**
Recovering the feminine aspects of the soul. "A provocative book rich in insight from clinical material, literature and years of personal reflection."
—*Library Journal*
288 pages $9.95 pbk

William Van Ornum and Mary Wicker Van Ornum
☐ **TALKING TO CHILDREN ABOUT NUCLEAR WAR**
A practical book that deals with feelings and facts and provides guidelines for parents who want to talk but can't find the words.
148pp $7.95 pbk

Eugene Kennedy
☐ **CRISIS COUNSELING**
An Essential Guide for Nonprofessional Counselors
"An outstanding author of books on personal growth selects types of personal crises that our present lifestyle has made commonplace and suggests effective ways to deal with them."
—*Best Sellers*
192pp $9.95 pbk

James and Mary Kenny
☐ **WHOLE-LIFE PARENTING**
"Indispensable for all parents and teachers . . . maybe the first wholly practical book that covers every age and every stage of a child's character development."
—ROBERT MENDELSOHN, M.D.
256pp $9.95 pbk

Sebastian Moore
☐ **THE INNER LONELINESS**
Profound insights from a modern spiritual master "about confronting and healing the deepest human alienation."
—*Commonweal*
128pp $7.95 pbk

Joan Timmerman
☐ **THE MARDI GRAS SYNDROME**
Rethinking Christian Sexuality
With frankness and humor the author exposes the myths of Christian sexuality and evokes the religious nature of sexual union as a sacred and social event.
160pp $8.95 pbk

Benedict J. Groeschel
☐ **SPIRITUAL PASSAGES**
The Psychology of Spiritual Development
This well-balanced book applies insights from contemporary psychology to our traditional understanding of Christian spirituality. Rich in case studies.
224pp $9.95 pbk

Eugene C. Bianchi
☐ **AGING AS A SPIRITUAL JOURNEY**
"A most significant contribution to a spirituality of aging . . . of highest value to anyone concerned with that problem of aging."—*America*
304pp $9.95 pbk

Morton Kelsey
☐ **CHRISTO-PSYCHOLOGY**
"Kelsey at his best . . . treats the journey to personal faith, the seeker on the journey . . . the relation of theology and psychology."—*Journal of Psychology and Theology*
176pp $9.95 pbk

Louis Dupré
☐ **THE COMMON LIFE**
The Origins of Trinitarian Mysticism and its Development in Jan Ruusbroec
New light on a powerful, ancient theme: men and women are images of God because in their deepest essence they are identical with God.
96pp $7.95 pbk

Robert A. Raines
☐ **A FAITHING OAK**
Meditations from the Mountain
"The writings are designed to renew and heal as we continue the journeys of our lives. A book to be read and re-read."—*Provident Book Finder*
128pp $6.95 pbk

Morton Kelsey
☐ **PROPHETIC MINISTRY**
The Psychology and Spirituality of Pastoral Care
"Any Christian counselor, lay or professional, will surely find parts of this remarkable book helpful in counseling."—*Provident Book Finder*
224pp $9.95 pbk

Jacob Needleman
☐ **THE NEW RELIGIONS**
With a New Introduction
Here are accessible overviews of the ways of Zen, Krishnamurti, Gurdijieff, Transcendental Meditation, among others.
"The best survey of transplanted Oriental mysticism in America."
—THEODORE ROSZAK
262pp $9.95 pbk

Ninian Smart and Richard B. Hecht
☐ **SACRED TEXTS OF THE WORLD**
A Universal Anthology
The most comprehensive anthology available today. "Large, substantial, well-edited, rich in its panoply of texts."—*The Christian Century*
496pp $16.95 pbk

Pierre Riches
☐ **BACK TO BASICS**
Catholic Faith in Today's World
A characteristically modern approach to the beliefs of Roman Catholics that both Catholics themselves and interested non-Catholics will find lively, refreshing, and at times surprising.
176pp $8.95 pbk

At bookstores, or write
CROSSROAD/CONTINUUM 370 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10017

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Religious booknotes — 2

New views of the Catholic heritage

Mary Gerhart

MENTION BOOKS on the Catholic experience and many readers will recall James Joseph Walsh's triumphal *The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries* (1924). Other readers will think of post-conciliar accounts like Garry Wills's *Bare, Ruined Choirs* that were long on sadness and some nostalgia. Recent books on Catholicism share neither the optimism and triumphalism of the early accounts nor the "long, long ago" sense current in the sixties and early seventies. They shun the impression of a monolithic church and present a vital, organic, changing, pluralistic reality, a reality spoken of variously as a "heritage," a "vision," a "faith," a "communion" of believers.

The Catholic Heritage: Martyrs, Ascetics, Pilgrims, Warriors, Mystics, Theologians, Artists, Humanists, Activists, Outsiders, and Saints, *by Lawrence S. Cunningham, Crossroad Publishers, $14.95, cloth, 229 pp.*

Of all the books, Lawrence Cunningham's *The Catholic Heritage: Martyrs, Ascetics, Pilgrims, Warriors, Mystics, Theologians, Artists, Humanists, Activists, Outsiders, and Saints,* contains the most surprises. Each of the eleven "types" listed in the sub-title is exemplified by *interesting* people. The chapter on Warriors, for example, features the theme of the Christian knight in two figures, Francis of Assisi and Joan of Arc; that on Outsiders includes James Joyce, Ignazio Silone, and Simone Weil. The book is finally more theological than historical in its ambition "to show the heroes and saints of the past as models for the present." The author is not sanguine. Cunningham wonders whether the children of this generation will ever draw upon the Catholic heritage as his own generation has. This book is intelligent and, perhaps because it is idiosyncratic in its choice of examples, written with exceptional insight.

A Catholic Vision, co-authored by Stephen Happel and David Tracy, is the second in a Fortress series of three books on major American religions — the first being Howard R. Greenstein's *Judaism – An Eternal Covenant.* Although *A Catholic Vision* is historical in the sense that Chapters 2-9 progress chronologically, the book is intended by its authors to be more "a rhetorical invitation to the meaning of Catholic life." Each chapter begins with the description of a sculpture, a piece of music, a painting, or a quotation of a hymn or poem

A Catholic Vision, *by Stephen Happel and David Tracy, Fortress Press, $10.95, paper, 196 pp.*

which sets the frame for the time period. "The Taming of Europe (692-1073)," for example, recalls a capital sculpture in an eleventh-century church at Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, in which two grotesque creatures struggle for control over a poor human figure: "struggle" is the operative word for this chapter on the early Middle Ages. The last three chapters are on the twentieth century: on Europe and prophets from the past; on the United States and religious freedom; on Third-World Catholics and liberation for the future. The result is a new look at an age-old, ever-changing phenomenon, successfully calling attention to the very "richness of the Catholic tradition."

Imagine an elaborate sociological study of 864 saints who lived between the eleventh and eighteenth centuries, and in Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell's *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700,* you have it. The tasteful

Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom 1000-1700 *by Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, The University of Chicago Press, $25, cloth, 314 pp.*

illustrations in this book complement the authors' careful statistical and substantive analysis of hagiographic materials. Statistical profiles tally such items as "family influence," "other influences," and "type of canonization." The book provides a detailed understanding of "very broad social religious trends over wide expanses of time and place and deep divisions of sex and class."

The Eastern Orthodox Church is given an historical and ecumenical setting in John Meyendorff's *Catholicity and the Church.* Each chapter was prepared for a religiously mixed audience; the book developed out of those "living encounters." Meyendorff regards the Reformation as "a 'protest' not against Orthodoxy but against a Roman and Latin Christendom which itself had gone out-of-balance after the schism with the East." His vision of the Orthodox mission is that the church should "manifest that balanced *sensus ecclesiae* which is the key to Christian unity." He laments the divisiveness

Catholicity and the Church, *by John Meyendorff, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, $6.95, paper, 160 pp.*

inside the Orthodox church and proposes the use of "ancient custom," a canonical tool, to restore its mission to manifest catholic unity.

I opened Karl Rahner's *The Practice of Faith: A Handbook of Contemporary Spirituality* the day before I heard the announcement of his death. I was struck by the disarming quality

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

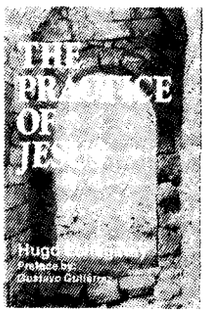
of certain passages in his introduction — lines which, now when I return to them, are poignant: "Both in my life and in my thinking I keep finding myself in situations of confusion which cannot be 'cleared up.' At first even I feel that one just has to carry on, even if one doesn't know where it's all leading. I feel that one must just keep quiet when one can't speak clearly, that carrying on in ordinary honesty is the only appropriate attitude for human beings, and the most that can be expected of us. But then I find I cannot avoid or keep silent about the question of what underlies this carrying on. What I find when I ask that question is the hope which accepts no limits as final."

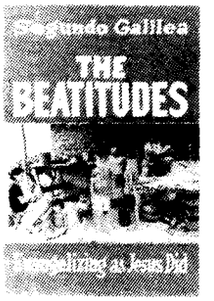
The Practice of Faith: A Handbook of Contemporary Spirituality, *by Karl Rahner, Crossroad Publishers, $19.50, cloth, 316 pp.*

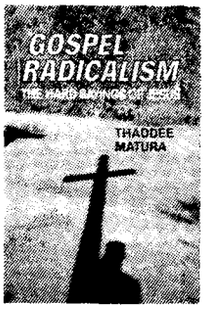
The sixty-five topics treated in this handbook are grouped in three general categories: Faith, Love, and Hope. The topics range from "Experiencing Transcendence" and "Experiencing God" to "The Ambiguity of Death." Perhaps his most enduring statement is to be found in the second essay in his introduction, "The Spirituality of the Future." Here, Rahner lists five characteristics of future spirituality which may also be clues to characteristics of future Catholicism. His first point is that whatever changes in spirituality occur, they will remain "in a mysterious identity" with the "old spirituality" of the church. A second characteristic is that spirituality of the future will focus on the essentials of Christian piety rather than on a multitude of public devotions. A third is that future spirituality will not be supported by a "sociologically Christian homogeneity" so much as sustained out of a "solitary, immediate experience of God." The fourth, he says, is in a dialectical relationship to the third: spirituality of the future is more apt to stem forth from the experiences of Christians who live in small communities rather than from the experiences of Christians who are individualists. And finally, the vision of the church in the new spirituality is likely to be that of a struggling pilgrim people buffeted by internal tensions and conflicts rather than of a "sign elevated among the nations."

In the sixty years since Walsh wrote his encomium, we have learned that ecclesiastical structures do not escape the ambiguities and mixed results common to all human institutions. These recent books on Catholicism are clearly important statements about the future.

Recovering the Radical Challenge of Jesus







THE PRACTICE OF JESUS
by Hugo Echegaray

The reason why we must begin to understand the social structures in the age of Jesus is that his ministry would be unintelligible without reference to the conditions within which he acted. These conditions not only set the limits within which his ministry was carried on; they also, and above all, supplied concrete material that became part of his message.

A "most valuable contribution, marked by boldness and fidelity, to the progress of God's people...." —GUSTAVO GUTIERREZ

176 pages Paper $7.95

THE BEATITUDES
To Evangelize as Jesus Did
by Segundo Galilea

"The warmth and openness with which Segundo Galilea preaches this gospel should inspire the activist to prayer, the pious to action, and all of us to a deeper reliance on the roots of our faith that are found in Jesus and his simple invitation to follow." —DANNY COLLUM, *Sojourners*

128 pages Paper $5.95

GOSPEL RADICALISM
The Hard Sayings of Jesus
by Thaddee Matura

In this comprehensive study of the "hard sayings" of Jesus, a noted exegete recovers the radical challenge of Jesus for today. "The demands said to be radical are the cutting edge of the message of Jesus... The radicalism embraces all of Christian existence and it challenges all those who commit themselves to it."
—*from the book*

208 pages Paper $8.95

At your bookstore or from
ORBIS BOOKS
Maryknoll, NY 10545

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Continued from page 310)
and played by Anatol Rapoport, who might well be called the father of empirical research in this field. It is called "Tit For Tat." A strategy is a stable relationship between a present decision and a perception or record of *n* previous events. In this very simple case the strategy is to start by being "good" and then do what the other player did the last time. Thus, if both players use this strategy and the first starts by being good, the other will be good, and both will be good indefinitely. Part of the strategy is to start by being good. If the first player starts by being bad, the second player responds by being bad. There is a problem here that I do not recall Axelrod mentioning, that if both play Tit For Tat under these circumstances they both stay bad indefinitely, which is why it is important to start by being good. If the first player, however, introduces a random strategy and does not follow the Tit For Tat behavior — unless his strategy is to always be bad (what Axelrod calls "all D" — that is, all defecting) — at some point or other the first player will be good and, of course, the Tit For Tat player will also be good. In this experiment it does not seem to be possible to change strategies through a learning process; this is something that seems hard to put into formal experiment.

The principles that do seem to emerge from the formal experiment are that it pays to be "nice" — that is, have a prejudice in favor of cooperation and being good; it pays to be forgiving, up to a point; and it pays particularly well for nice people to play with each other, to get together. The implication of the whole model is that there is a certain prejudice in the whole evolutionary process towards being nice, towards cooperation, even though, of course, there may be niches in it for the nasty and the uncooperative. But these niches tend to remain rather small. Axelrod has a very interesting chapter with William D. Hamilton on the evolution of cooperation in biological systems, a little reminiscent of the earlier work of Peter Kropotkin and Clyde Allee, not actually mentioned, and throws some light on the evolution of altruism even in the biosphere, certainly on the evolution of symbiosis.

Axelrod gives a considerable number of very interesting economic, political, and social examples, which he calls cooperation without friendship, or foresight. He has a fascinating chapter on the live-and-let-live system in trench warfare in World War I, which the privates in the trenches developed with their respective enemies, much to the annoyance of their officers. Interesting examples from economics involve various forms of moderation of competition in the market. Examples from politics include the development of cooperative relationships between the regulators and the regulated, cooperation among Congressmen, the possibilities of a disarmament race, the development of cooperative solutions to international conflict, like the Israeli-Egyptian problem, and the development of very complex forms of reciprocity in all social relations. Perhaps the most important conclusion of the book is that "the foundation of cooperation is not really trust, but the durability of the relationship." This, however, is because both cooperation and trust come out of a learning relationship, and learning itself is a function of the durability of the relationship.

In many ways, this is a landmark study. It crosses all the disciplines in the social sciences. It is a very important contribution in itself to the general theory of human interaction. It also, however, suggests that the evolutionary process in this field of human knowledge is still in full swing and has a long way to go. What needs to be done now is to try to unite game theory of this kind with learning theory. This book suggests that there is a prejudice in the evolutionary process towards "niceness," even if the strategies of interacting organisms are fixed, which they tend to be in biogenetic evolution. Once we introduce learning into the picture, however, what I have called "noogenetic evolution" — that is, the transmission of learned structures from one generation to the next through life experience — the learning of new strategies becomes a very important element in the evolutionary system. This is work that still remains to be done in all the many fields that Axelrod has touched upon. One hopes particularly that the people in the strategic sciences will follow this clue, for they frequently assume that nobody ever learns anything. The field which Axelrod has opened up suggests that large improvements could be made in the study of threat systems and the payoffs of organized violence.

Poisoned swan songs

TIME AFTER TIME

Molly Keane

Knopf, $13.95, 249 pp.

Gregory A. Schirmer

TIME AFTER TIME is set in a large, dilapidated country house in the south of Ireland, the emblem of a class — the Anglo-Irish Protestant Ascendancy — that once dominated nearly every phase of Irish life, but now exists largely as a tattered remnant of its impressive history.

Molly Keane belongs to that world, and in this novel, her second written under her own name (she wrote eleven novels and four plays under the pseudonym M. J. Farrell), she creates a world poisonously folded in upon itself and its past, feeding on the memories of another, better age while trying at the same time to ignore the various skeletons hanging in the family closet. As its title suggests, *Time After Time* is about those memories and those skeletons, and, more generally, about the inexorable pressure that the past exerts on the present.

The country house, called Durraghglass, is inhabited by four elderly survivors of a once-prosperous Anglo-Irish family: a bachelor named Jasper Swift and his three sisters, April, a widow, and May and June, both spinsters. Each of the Swifts is physically disabled — Jasper lost an eye in a childhood accident, April is deaf, May is missing three and a half fingers from her right hand, and June suffers from dyslexia — and these defects suggest and reinforce the characters' more crippling

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MANFRED GROHE

Death. Judgment. Heaven. Hell.

One of the world's most important theologians takes on humanity's most provocative question:

Is there life after death? Drawing on sources as diverse as Sigmund Freud, Hindu philosophy and the New Testament, Hans Küng confronts life after death as a medical, philosophical and theological problem.

Re-examining traditional questions, such as the nature of heaven and hell, Dr. Küng probes distinctly modern ones as well. Is reincarnation compatible with Christianity? Is eternal life simply a psychological projection of mankind's instinct for self-preservation? Do gravely ill patients and their doctors have the right to choose when life should end?

"An instinctive sense for the heart of the matter and uncommon common sense" are the qualities in Dr. Küng's writing identified by David Tracy in his *New Republic* review of *Does God Exist?* These same qualities make his latest book an extraordinary reading adventure, no matter what your own beliefs. ETERNAL LIFE? is further proof that Hans Küng is, in Mr. Tracy's words, "the best exponent of contemporary theological concerns to the wider culture of our day."

Hans Küng

ETERNAL LIFE?

Now an Image paperback:
ON BEING A CHRISTIAN
Hans Küng's brilliant response to all who ask "Why be a Christian today?" "It may well become a religious and spiritual classic."
—New York Times Book Review

A Book-of-the-Month Club Alternate, at all bookstores now.

DOUBLEDAY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

psychological disabilities, manifest chiefly in their complacent entrapment in a futile present and their desperate and doomed efforts to forget the past.

Into this damaged, centripetal world comes a figure from that past, a half-Jewish Austrian cousin named Leda, whose visit to Durraghglass fifty years before dazzled the Swift children with their first (and last) glimpse of the romantic, and left a provocative memory burned into the mind of each of them. Now an old woman, Leda brings to Durraghglass her own disability — she is blind — and her own family skeleton: a brief but disastrous adolescent affair with the Swift children's father that took place during her previous visit, when she was seventeen, and that ended in Leda's being summarily sent home and in the father's apparent suicide.

"Time's a joke," Leda says soon after her arrival, and her physical blindness makes possible a more dangerous one; she sees Durraghglass and its inhabitants not as they are, but as they once were, in the golden past of lavish Sunday luncheons, fox-hunts, and country balls. Her vision proves as infectious as it is distorted, restoring to each of the Swifts, for a while, the illusion of innocence untainted by the corruption of time: "Their youth was present to them, a mirage trembling in her flattery as air trembles close to the surface of summer roads."

Leda's perception is, of course, a mirage, and her flattery pernicious. She has returned to Durraghglass partly out of an irrational longing to recover the past of her first love, which she finds embodied in the ageless music of Jasper's voice, so like his father's, and partly by a desire for revenge on the family that once turned her out. With calculated charm, Leda manipulates the family until she has the three sisters in her power and Jasper within reach: "They were hers — three bridges back to her innocence. Some she might diminish (destroy was a word she forgot) when her power at Durraghglass reached its supremacy, when she would live and make love with the voice that belonged to someone else."

As this passage suggests, Keane enjoys a considerable gift for evoking psychological suspense, for bringing to the surface the buried ambitions of a mind twisted by an obsessive clinging to the past. But the darkness of the novel is offset in part by Keane's equally considerable gift for comedy. April's recollection of her mother's advice on "the loving obligations of marriage" — "It's a thing men do. You won't like it" — and a neighbor's comment on May's relentless lectures to the local garden club — "Her lecture was bliss. I don't know how she kept it up so long" — bite humorously into the limitations and pettiness of this enclosed, upper-class world.

Unfortunately, the novel reaches its psychological climax relatively early. Once Leda makes her move, unveiling all the secrets that she has so cunningly extracted from each of the Swifts — April's fondness for alcohol and marijuana, May's cleptomania, June's fascination with the young Catholic boy who helps her run the farm, and Jasper's interest in an apparently homosexual monk from a neighboring monastery — the novel moves rather weakly to an unconvincing conclusion that finds the Swifts renewed and strengthened by Leda's invasion from the past.

Time After Time is markedly self-conscious of the Anglo-Irish tradition to which it belongs. There are, for example, enough references to swans to bring to mind another Leda, the woman raped by a god-like swan in Yeats's famous poem. (In Keane's version, Leda is the aggressor, trying to violate the jealously guarded security of the present.)

But Keane's most obvious Anglo-Irish predecessor is Elizabeth Bowen, whose stories of the 1930s and 1940s used the fragile and isolated status of her class to describe the sense of alienation that is so much a part of the modern sensibility. Bowen once said that every Irish country house that has remained in the same family "is an island — and, like an island, a world." In *Time After Time*, Molly Keane has created such an island and, in the process, a world that explores with conviction and power the ways in which we are all shaped and controlled by the past. "In familiar places," she says at one point in the novel, "memories are never absolved."

Banking on trouble

IN BANKS WE TRUST

Penny Lernoux

Anchor/Doubleday, $16.95, 310 pp.

Joseph A. Page

PENNY LERNOUX, Latin American correspondent for *The Nation*, has produced an engrossing yet exasperating account of financial and related evils perpetrated by the international brotherhood of bankers and other assorted villains. *In Banks We Trust* is as topical as today's headlines about pending defaults by Latin American countries unable or unwilling to pay the billions of dollars of interest they owe on colossal debts to banks in the developed world. But the book neither hangs together as a coherent whole nor makes a convincing case against what it dimly suggests is a conspiracy involving banks, the Mafia, the C.I.A., the Vatican, and various right-wing terrorists and dictators.

Utilizing an episodic approach, Lernoux confronts the reader with a series of examples of banking misfeasance several of which would be likely candidates for book-length treatment. After "warming up" with descriptions of financial fiascoes perpetrated by Chase Manhattan and Citibank, she details the role of banks in the CIA's shadowy promotion of heroin traffic in Southeast Asia, in the Miami-centered drug trade, and in the strange links among the Vatican, a Masonic lodge called P-2, and neofascist assassins. The debt dilemma facing Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and other Latin borrower-nations, as well as the entire international monetary system, receives adequate, if uninspired coverage, and the final chapter, a historical overview of dubious banking practices, is more in the nature of an introduction than a conclusion.

Easily the most riveting of her chapters are those chronicling the emergence of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Miami as the narcotics capital of the United States. Lernoux traces the sordid saga of organized crime's infiltration of Cuba and southern Florida in the decades following the Depression, when Havana became the point of entry for heroin enroute to the western hemisphere. Fidel Castro's revolution forced the drug dealers to relocate in Miami, and the "latinization" of the city as a result of an influx of Cuban exiles triggered a transformation which saw Latin Americans (mainly Cubans and Colombians) rise to prominence in the burgeoning drug trade. The economy of the region has flourished from infusions of capital generated by this illegal commerce, and the violence it inevitably spawns has given Miami the nickname "Dodge City South."

Banks have contributed mightily to the blood-spattered boom. The huge profits to be earned from the "laundering" of drug money (which is pumped in and out of financial institutions in disregard of cash-reporting regulations) have created a demand for small banks known as "Coin-O-Washers." Law-enforcement agencies have been unwilling or unable to crack down on these operations.

One major obstacle in the struggle against the drugs is the involvement of many anti-Castro Cubans who fought at the Bay of Pigs and then drifted into narcotics trafficking. The CIA has never hesitated to use them, and they move easily back and forth between the continuing war against the Castro regime and nonpolitical racketeering. Their record of extortion and kidnapping, according to Lernoux, "far surpasses the terrorist acts of Italy's Red Brigades or Libya's assassin squads." The protective shield of "national security" has often blocked efforts to bring them to justice, a delicious irony in view of the current administration's professed commitment to eradicate Florida's narcotics trade.

Lernoux's ideological preferences detract from the effectiveness of the book. The most glaring example is her fixation upon the sinister dealings between banks and right-wing terrorists and her failure even to acknowledge that left-wing terrorists have nourished similar links. Indeed, she nowhere mentions the fascinating career of David Graiver, the young Argentine suspected of acting as banker for leftist revolutionaries who accumulated huge sums of money in a series of spectacular kidnappings in Argentina in the early 1970s. Graiver allegedly used these funds to purchase banks in New York, Israel, and Belgium. Shortly after he was presumed to have died in a mysterious plane crash in Mexico, his banking operations collapsed in the wake of investigations into their irregularity.

In Banks We Trust overwhelms the reader with an avalanche of detail. What especially disturbed this reviewer was that in the three pages of the book touching upon a subject with which he is intimately familiar — Argentina's late President Juan D. Perón — the narrative con-

Current Religious Issues...

HUMAN LIFE A Biblical Perspective for Bioethics
By J. ROBERT NELSON. "An important and timely book which explores the meaning and value of human life in the light of the biblical tradition. His wholistic approach with its scientific, philosophical, and theological bases is most appealing."—Charles E. Curran (The Catholic University)
$10.95 paper

THE USES OF THE BIBLE IN CHRISTIAN ETHICS A Constructive Essay
By THOMAS W. OGLETREE. "Henceforth, anyone writing on the general issue of the relation of the Bible to Christian ethics will have to begin with Ogletree's contribution."—Stanley Hauerwas (University of Notre Dame) $19.95 cloth

SCIENCE AND OUR TROUBLED CONSCIENCE
By J. ROBERT NELSON. Squarely facing the questions raised by modern science, this important book shows how the resources of Christian faith can guide us toward a "just, participatory, and sustainable society." $6.95 paper

STRUGGLE AND FULFILLMENT The Inner Dynamics of Religion and Morality
By DONALD EVANS. "A contemporary spiritual classic—well-written and understandable—which nevertheless contains a controlled theological argument."—Commonweal $7.95 paper

THE HUMAN CENTER Moral Agency in the Social World
By HOWARD L. HARROD. "A carefully reasoned account of the formal conditions for moral agency, values, and discourse.... This is a finely wrought argument and worth considerable study."—Anglican Theological Review $14.95 cloth

At bookstores, dial 1-800-FORTRESS, or write
FORTRESS PRESS
2900 Queen Lane, Philadelphia, Pa. 19129

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tained a number of factual errors suggesting sloppiness: Isabel was Perón's third wife, not his second; the massacre at the Ezeiza airport in Argentina occurred in 1973, not 1972; José López Rega became social-welfare minister long before Isabel Perón assumed the presidency. Her allusion to "evidence" (never cited) that Perón knew in advance that the Peronist right would attack the left on the occasion of his arrival at Ezeiza is without foundation, her reference to a rumor that the head of the Italian P-2 lodge helped Perón recover the body of his late wife Eva overlooks the known fact that it was the Argentine military government which arranged for the return of the corpse (Perón had nothing to do with it), and her linkage of Perón to a so-called "strategy of tension," whereby the right (or the left) foments unrest in order to provoke a military coup is both woefully confused and wide of the mark. These lapses cast a pall over one's confidence in the accuracy of the rest of the book.

Lernoux's grand climax, a chapter dealing with the debt crisis in Latin America, epitomizes the strengths and weaknesses of her endeavor. She is effective in describing the dimensions of the problem, the shortsightedness of the bankers who made the decisions to lend, and the economic and social disasters which would occur if the debtor nations applied the anti-inflationary prescriptions of the International Monetary Fund in order to obtain loans from that institution. But in her haste to pin all blame on the bankers, she oversimplifies and slights or overlooks factors such as the diverse motivations which made the Latin nations plunge themselves deeper and deeper into debt (the Brazilians wanted to invest in grandiose hydroelectric and mining projects, while the Argentines skirted bankruptcy in order to fight an ill-advised war against Great Britain), and the impact of external forces — higher interest rates and lower commodity prices, for example — which have made repayment tremendously difficult. Moreover, she fails to explore fully the serious implications of default. Finally, the ties between the debt crisis and the CIA, the drug traffickers, and the Vatican are tenuous at best.

In Banks We Trust has moments of high fascination, but its flaws — and especially its tendency to run off in too many directions — ultimately mark the book as a disappointment.

A ROOM OF HER OWN

Young woman, joining *Commonweal* staff, needs inexpensive living quarters in the New York area, starting in July. Willing to share apartment — or simply find a place for July and August while seeking permanent arrangement.

If you know of a possibility, please call Anne Robertson at (212) 683-2042.

In brief

COMMUNISTS IN HARLEM DURING THE DEPRESSION, *Mark Naison. University of Illinois Press, $22.95, 355 pp.*

Mark Naison's book could be read in the context of recent, and not always reassuring, attempts by the American left to reappropriate the Communist experience as a "usable past." But much more important, the book stems from Naison's own experience, which many of us shared, of the New Left as it emerged from the civil rights movement. Naison's historical reconstruction is guided by an implicit question: how can the dream of integration be translated into political practice and social reality?

The Communists' dream of integration was incorporated in political practice which alternated between the radically militant and the banally traditional. To distinguish themselves from Afro-American nationalist tendencies, Harlem's Communists had to invent new militant tactics which often succeeded. But success demanded that gains be institutionalized, which entailed playing the traditional politics of pacts and spoils. At times, this meant abandoning struggles nearly won, particularly concerning workplace integration. It meant, also, that Moscow was not pulling the strings, at least in Harlem party politics.

Naison's subtle political discussion is supplemented by a provocative account of the social integration of races the party sought, within its ranks and outside. An anecdote illustrates some difficulties: At Communist party dances, black men would dance with white women, but black women were left on the sidelines by self-conscious white males fearing their inadequacy as dancers. Ever pragmatic, the party instituted dance courses for these comrades.

Integration in the outside world was more difficult, although the party role in the struggles to integrate sports, for example, met ultimate success. Most problematic, then as now, was the relation of the popular communal cultural forms (like jazz) and the "high" culture.

The book closes with an Appendix on black-Jewish relations which suggests some of the implications of the Communist dream of integration. Persecution in Germany made it particularly easy for Jews to identify with blacks as an oppressed minority, and both groups to imagine integration in terms of universalism. After 1938, when Congress began to reduce the social programs seriously, dif-

REVIEWERS

HOWARD H. RICHTER, *an English professor at Queens College, CUNY, is the author of* Fable's End, *and* Forms of the Novella.

FATHER ERNEST BARTELL, C.S.C., *is executive director of the Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies at Notre Dame.*

LAWRENCE S. CUNNINGHAM, *professor of religion at Florida State University, is the author of* The Catholic Heritage.

CLARA CLAIBORNE PARK *teaches English at Williams College. Her book* The Siege: The First Eight Years of an Autistic Child *(Atlantic-Little, Brown) was republished with an epilogue in 1982.*

KENNETH E. BOULDING *is Distinguished Professor of Economics, Emeritus, at the University of Colorado.*

JOSEPH A. PAGE *is the author of* Peron: A Biography *(Random House).*

GREGORY A. SCHIRMER *is assistant professor of English at Notre Dame.*

DICK HOWARD *teaches in the philosophy department at the State University of New York, Stony Brook.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ficulties emerged which are with us today. The reductions affected especially the blacks; the Jews, who were better educated, could find a place outside Harlem. The social interests of each group could no longer be denied, and conflict emerged. The particular group which takes itself as the universal incarnation of suffering humanity (not unlike the young Marx's description of the proletariat) is unable to understand the social particularity of other groups. Universalism is not the dream of integration. Communist practice, and the civil rights movement too, recognized this even if theory was often blind to experience. This, I think, is the lesson of Naison's historical enterprise.

DICK HOWARD

Correspondence

(Continued from page 290)

selves. I don't believe there is any way that the miracles of engineering technique could benefit them, alas.

Incidentally, Mr. Pruett is a fine writer whose work is not familiar to me. I'm glad you found him!

JOHN HAMMOND

Classified

RATES: 70¢ a word, one time; 66¢, three times; 63¢, six times; Classified payable with order; monthly in advance for more than three times. COMMONWEAL, 232 Madison Ave., NYC 10016.

Religious Community

Considering Religious Life? Founded to ransom slaves, our small community of men has grounded our lives and our work of liberation in fraternity, prayer, and the Bible for over 800 years. Write Fr. Bill Axe, The Trinitarian Friars, P.O. Box 5719, Baltimore, MD 21208; or call Collect (301) 484-2250.

Biblical Institute

19th Biblical Institute, Trinity College, Burlington, VT 05401, June 17-22. Faculty: Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, Paul Achtemeier, Philip J. King, Elizabeth Achtemeier. Write: Sr. Miriam Ward.

Priest Workshop

On preaching Penance and hearing confessions. Conducted by Redemptorist theologians and preachers at oceanfront retreat house. Practical. July 16-19; July 23-26. San Alfonso, 755 Ocean Ave., West End, N.J. 07740 (201) 222-2731. Cost $125, deposit $25.

Priesthood

Desire Priesthood? 30 to 50? Completed B.A.? 1-800-633-2252, Father Nigro, Gonzaga University, Spokane 99258.

Kirkridge Gathering

The Company at Kirkridge, a supportive network for contemporary Christians will meet July 6, 7, 8, 1984 at Church of the Savior Retreat Center, "Wellspring" outside Washington, D.C. Richard Barnet, Senior Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies, author of *The Alliance*, will speak on "U.S. Politics: New Oportunities for Christian Involvement." Join us and become part of an ongoing group which is ecumenical in every dimension. For more information contact Anthony Ciccariello, 520 W. Gray St., Elmira, N.Y. 14905.

Journal

Journal-ers: The fresh Bible workbook, "Astonish Me, Yahweh!" will stir you to talk with God. The Journey Tapes are meditation tools laced with music for personal reflection time. For free catalog contact LuraMedia, 10227 Autumnview Ln., Suite 2, San Diego, CA 92126.

Help Wanted

Government jobs. $16,559-$50,553/year. Now hiring. Your area. Call (805) 687-6000 Ext. R-4390.

Retreats

Cuernavaca, Mexico City — June 12, 1984 — June 21, 1984 and July 17, 1984 — July 26, 1984. Third-world retreat/hospitality experience in the Latin American context with a community of Mexican Benedictine Sisters. Community prayer, discussion, audio-visuals, reflection, recreation, sharing with base Christian community leaders, experiencing the present day reality of grassroots Mexican faith communities, co-operatives, squatters' settlements. Ten Days. Approximate cost $600 based on mid-week air travel from Boston or New York City. Knowledge of Spanish helpful, but not necessary. Open to individuals, groups and families. Fall/Winter 1984 and Winter/Spring 1985 retreat schedule available soon. Weston Priory, Weston, VT 05161. Or call (802) 824-5409.

Flutes

Bamboo flutes, recordings. Box 273, Mountainview, HI 96771.

St. Clare Weekend

St. Clare,, contemplating the feminine — a weekend with the *Brown Bag* — a Franciscan Community for the Arts — August 3-5, 1984 at Siena College, Albany, N.Y. The *Brown Bag* meets for mutual support, to discover and exchange ideas as artists in ministry in an atmosphere which is creative, social and spiritual. Join us in August when we meet to relax, pray and learn together. Our topic this year will be St. Clare and how we contemplate the feminine in our lives and Art. Our guest speakers will be Ms. Selma Kraft, Assoc. Prof. of Fine Art at Siena, Br. Greg Zoltowski, OFM, Ass. Prof. of Fine Arts at Siena, and Sr. Elizabeth Enoch, OSC, Monastery of St. Clare, Bronx, N.Y. For further information contact Br. Greg Zoltowski, OFM, Siena College Friary, Loudonville, N.Y. 12211, (518) 783-2300. Total cost for the weekend, $65.

Cookbook

The Great Little Zucchini Cookbook. 22 pages, luscious recipes. Send $2 to: Zucchini Cookbook, 17070 Telfer Dr., Morgan Hill, CA 95037.

After the Rains

An expanding welfare center in Madras is recovering from heavy monsoons which caused many flash floods. Fields were submerged and vital crops lost. Relief funds should be sent to S.J. Kathivakkam Social Welfare Center, Ennore Madras — 600 057 South India or for forwarding to Salesian Missions, Box 30, New Rochelle, N.Y. 10802.

Furnished House

Furnished 6½ room, two-story frame house, Rockville Centre, Long Island. Gas heat, 1½ baths, walking distance to Long Island Railroad. September 1984 — June or September 1985. $750 monthly plus utilities, 1-car garage, backyard. First and last month's rent in advance — $500 damage deposit. References required. Call (516) 764-3249.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"An important book and a fascinating one."

Carol Ochs

Women in the Early Church

by

Elizabeth A. Clark

***Message of the Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 13...$8.95; Cloth $15.00**

Michael Glazier, Inc.

1723 Delaware Avenue, Wilmington, Delaware 19806

412

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED